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TOURS

IN

UPPER INDIA,

AND IN PARTS OF

THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS;

WITH ACCOUNTS OF THE

COURTS OF THE NATIVE PRINCES,

&c.

84792

BY MAJOR ARCHER,

LATE AID-DE-CAMP TO LORD COMBERMERE.

——Where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.

MILTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
(SUCCESSOR TO HENRY COLBURN.)
1833.

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IN THE UPPER PROVINCES OF HINDOOSTAN.

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FOURTH TOUR.

IN THE UPPER PROVINCES

OF

HINDOOST'AN:

COMMENCING THE 26TH OF OCTOBER 1828, AND ENDING THE 11TH OF APRIL 1829.

(CONTINUED.)

FOURTH TOUR.

IN THE UPPER PROVINCES OF HINDOOSTAN.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER III.

Crossing the Ganges.—Amrooah.—Moradabad.—Crossing the Ram Gunga.—Rampore.—Visit to the Nawaub.—Daily Marches.—Treachery.—Fatal Indecision.—Bareelly.—Game.—Ferocity of an Elephant.—Cutterah.—Daily Marches.—Military Injustice.—Ex-Minister of Oude.—Law-suits.—A Confession.—Daily Marches.—Game.

DECEMBER 1, 1828.—Crossed the Ganges to Tigree, on its left bank, (four miles.) No one who has not witnessed the transporting of trcops, horses, camels, carriages, &c. across rivers in India, can form a notion of, or conceive in the slightest degree, the confusion incident to such an occasion. The noise, tumult, vociferation, and the absolute confounding of all order, are

not to be described; added to which, boats with crazy platforms, vicious horses, sulky camels, obstinate bullocks, the shouting, swearing, kicking, flogging, twisting of tails, roaring, bellowing, and grumbling, all defy the patience to bear, and the possibility to give even an *idea* of the Babel. None but the officer in charge of the ferry can estimate the horrors of such a scene.

Long tracts of grass jungle, as far as the eye can reach, on this side. Went out to look for tigers, the name of the place being thought to sound promisingly; but though we saw many of their tracks, we were not so fortunate as to find the animals themselves.

Dec. 2.—Marched to Derriapore (ten miles and a quarter). The country has a most pleasing appearance on this side of the river. We are now in the district called Rohilkhund, a name but too well known in the European politics of India. This part of India, from the middle of the sixteenth century, has been peopled with a greater number of Mahometans than others:* they are, and always have been, a bold race, who constantly mixed themselves up in all disputes relating to the empire. The massacre (for it was nothing less) of the Ro-

* Mr. Mill makes them to have originally come from a province in the Punjăb, named "Roh."

hillas, during Mr. Hastings' administration, is one of those acts which insure the author a lasting remembrance, whether policy could suggest the proceeding, or it fell out from any circumstances short of preservation of life to the Europeans in India.

The country is thickly populated, the cultivation extensive, the face of the soil is diversified with fine clumps of trees, and there is an air of neatness, if not of opulence, in the appearance of the cottages and villages, which may in vain be sought on the right bank of the Ganges: the men have a more independent bearing than their puny neighbours, and, what is remarkable, Mussulmen are the chief tillers of the soil.

Dec. 3.—To Amrooah (thirteen miles). This is a large town, prettily situated, and surrounded with clumps of mangoes and other trees. It is celebrated for its pottery, which certainly eclipses the pretensions of all other parts of India. This ware is delicately formed and fancifully painted, and is well adapted for ornamental pieces for chimneys, and for fruit and dessert dishes. Since we have crossed the river, we have been greatly pleased with the country, which appears richer, better cultivated, and the people more prosperous than on the

other bank. The cultivation of wheat and barley is in large patches, and, as in other parts of India, without hedges or ditches.

Dec. 4.—To Pointee, (nine miles and a quarter,) through a country as flat as a table: roads excellent. Groves of trees and ponds relieve the sight from large tracts of culture: small patches of jungle here and there: game of all sorts in abundance, particularly hare and quail. The "looming," as sailors call it, of the hills indistinctly seen.

Dec. 5.—To Moradabad, (nine miles and three-quarters,) a large town, principally inhabited by Mussulmen. Moradabad is the second city of this district, and was of yore in great estimation: it has some good streets; the principal one is floored with bricks. The houses are good, particularly those belonging to the merchants. The town bears precedence over all other Indian cities I have seen for neatness and apparent wealth. The station is a civil and a military one, though both establishments have been considerably reduced of late years; five companies of Native Infantry, and two guns, being the amount of the defensive, and four civil officers for judicial and fiscal matters.

The Circuit House is remarkable for the

attack upon it by Holkar, when he was pursued by Lord Lake: its gallant defence by a civil servant rescued its inmates from death, or a fate perhaps infinitely worse, and the house itself from demolition. The cantonment is prettily laid out; the houses and gardens of the residents are very good; altogether, the climate—which is mild in the summer heats, and cold in winter—the productions and localities, render this a coveted station by the civil and military. Abundance of all sorts of game is close at hand, and it is only six marches from the hills. Bumboo Khan, the Nawaub of Mijeebabad, visited his Excellency; his object, poor man! was an increase of pension, in the favourite shape of jagheer, or hereditary landed property. Vain hope!

Dec. 6.—Marched to the left bank of the Rugheerah Nullah (nine miles); the hills indistinctly seen. Passed through the town, and crossed the Ram Gunga, which, when full, is a large though not very deep river, for its breadth. It proved, however, deep enough to engulf many of the bullock-carts, which were totally immersed. Some of the party sustained great loss, by their clothes, &c. being spoiled. The country low and rather wet, with patches of bog and pools of water. Crossed a good bridge

of brick and stone, only of use in the rainy season.

Dec. 7.—To Rampore, (seven miles and three-quarters,) and pitched close to the Bareelly gate. In former times, this was the capital of Rohilkhund, but Bareelly subsequently usurped the honour. The Nawaub is a descendant of the former chiefs, who were confirmed in their authority by the British Government. His revenue amounts only to ten lacs, and solely from mismanagement. His time is passed either in the pursuits of the chase, in which he is a keen sportsman and a skilful shot, or among his numerous women. His appearance betokens debauched pursuits, being slovenly in his dress, haggard in his features, and the most ill-favoured countenance I remember to have seen. He drinks freely, and accommodates himself to European tastes and dress, in equipages and horses.

The Nawaub came out three miles to meet the Commander-in-chief: his retinue was a mere rabble, armed in various ways; some riding horses, others driving in old gigs, one of which had an embroidered velvet hood. There was a carriage drawn by two small elephants, which went exceedingly well; the driver sitting on the neck of the near one had

the semblance of a jockey. Dogs, hawks, and guns were in attendance: the hubbub was great. A bamboo hedge at one time circumvallated the town, and proved of efficacious defence: it was a noble production, but has been partially allowed to fall to ruin from want of care. The Commander-in-chief held a "durbar" before breakfast to receive the Nawaub, and the return visit was paid in the afternoon. Leaving camp, we passed through an arch, called the Bareelly Gate, and continued to proceed among garden-looking enclosures, but now completely waste.

The town, of which we saw a good part, is very dirty; the streets are narrow; many houses and walls lying prostrate in rubbish. The crowds of people we saw, wherever there was footing, indicate a large population. One circumstance was striking, and characterised the people—scarcely a man, except the shopkeepers, was unarmed. In Rohilkhund contention and bloodshed are rife, and angry words are quickly succeeded by blows. The Rohillas are a brave, but proud and fiery race, and contemn all ideas of constraint. Too proud to seek for service where they could obtain it, in the Company's army, they prefer to trust to fortune and their wits, and seem

disposed rather to depend for a precarious subsistence upon the chance of luck, or a reliance on the assistance of relations, than upon their own honest endeavours, regulated by prudence and industry.

The Nawaub's palace is a very good one; he has also had a house built completely in the English style and plan, and of course, in a climate like this, it is little better than useless; of this we were informed, not having seen the interior. During the visit, Nautch girls, buffoons, &c. came in to amuse the company; and after the customary unmeaning conversation, the presents were brought in. The Nawaub had the wit to say, that every one should offer those things which were connected with his profession or pursuit, and he being a sportsman, would beg to offer his Excellency the tusk of an elephant shot by himself; this was cut into two pieces of enormous dimensions.* There were also two powder-flasks, fashioned with great elegance out of two small tusks of a female elephant: a chair, most curiously contrived of deer's horns, was also presented. The Nawaub had a dwarf in his suite, whose stature was about three feet six inches, thirty years of age. The little man had a *large* family of *small* children.

* The weight of the two pieces was 113 lbs.

The Nawaub's band was sent to his Excellency's tent in the evening; they made a most nefarious noise, which they dignified by the name of singing. Two carts of fireworks were likewise sent, but too late for exhibition. Dinner, in the shape of pillaws, curries, and roasts of various kinds, as is usual in the East; this is considered the most pointed mark of friendship:—the dishes came from the palace. Rampore is famous for its sword-blades, which, though coarse, and not possessing the water-mark of Persian blades, are considered trusty weapons all over India.

Dec. 8.—To Kunowrah Dumorah (ten miles). The first two led through an avenue of trees; but the morning proving foggy, we saw little of the country: it continued misty the whole way. Much swampy country about the camp. Snipes in great numbers. Many extensive tanks in the vicinity: nothing new.

Dec. 9.—To Meergunge (eleven miles). Country and appearances rather better: cultivation not very extensive.

Dec. 10.—Marched to Futty Gunge (ten miles and a half). This spot is celebrated as that on which was fought the battle between the English and Rohillas, on the 24th of October 1794. The Rohillas were defeated, but not before they had evinced the greatest bravery,

and had caused the loss to the British of fifteen officers killed. A tomb containing their remains, and recording their names, is on a rising ground close to the field of battle. The commander of the Rohillas was also killed, and was buried in a tomb adjoining that of his enemies, whose deaths testified the valour of his soldiers. The advance of the Rohillas upon the British guns, it has been stated, was most gallant and steady.

The commander of the British cavalry, from some cause hitherto concealed, played the traitor in this fight: he most shamefully turned his corps to the right-about, and actually galloped over a broken column of infantry, which had suffered severely, and which he had been ordered to cover and support. No one could tell the reason of his defection, though it was broadly asserted that he had been bribed by the Rohillas: if such is true, the case happily stands without a parallel. The officer who thus acquired such a deathless infamy, is still alive, and recently resided on the Continent. It is also said he is living in affluence; but as he held for some time a post in Buonaparte's commissariat, it is uncertain whether he was existing from the means of his profession, or the proceeds of his detestable and diabolical treachery.

The action was fought against the forces of an usurper, secretly backed by the Vizir of Oude, who was purchased by large bribes and greater promises. The British made a show of justice in support of the rightful heir to the district of Rampore; but in defiance of this conduct, and the rights of chief and subjects, the battle was followed by a negotiation, by which the treasures of the true heir were surrendered to the Vizir, and, in lieu, a jagheer of ten lacs was settled upon him. In the battle of the 23rd of April 1774, when Hafiz Rhamut, the Rohilla chieftain, lost his power and life, the Vizir, who sided with the British, had a large body of cavalry looking on at some distance; nor would they take part in the strife, until they saw, beyond a doubt, what was to be the termination of it:—an invariable practice with Asiatics, which they have pursued to their own destruction: witness the jealousies of the Peishwah, Rajpoor Rajah, Scindeah, and Holkar, who, had they heartily combined in the Pindarree campaigns, would, perhaps, have so essentially changed the aspect of those times, as to have rendered it probable that the English power would not have arrived at the giant stature which it assumed as a consequence of those events. The last combat took place upon a large plain, unbroken by

ditch or mound, and nothing but the village to offer any variety for the exercise of skill by either party.

Dec. 11. — Marched to Bareelly, (eleven miles and a half,) now the capital of Rohilkhund. This is a large civil station, having a Board of Revenue, a Board of Circuit and Appeal, with other civil officers. Two battalions of Native Infantry, one corps of Irregular Horse, and one company of Native Artillery, form its military defence; and a small one too, considering the town has been refractory more than once. The station is well situated, and advantageously laid out, and is accounted healthy. Sport of all kinds in the neighbourhood gives it additional attraction.

The town is large, but has not the good appearance of Moradabad; nor is it of so ancient a settlement as a principal town. The population is chiefly Mahometan, and has precisely the same character for independence, or perhaps turbulence, as the other parts of Rohilkhund.

A serious disturbance took place in 1816, which, though quieted, was accompanied with much bloodshed. The Moslem priests were extremely active in exciting the people to resistance: a small detachment of Native troops

owed its safety to its gallantry; in a small square, with two guns, the Sepoys kept the whole mob at bay, until assistance arrived.

The camp continued here the 12th, which was occupied in reviews. The 2nd Irregular Horse was in every way greatly inferior to Skinner's; but as the corps had lost its *élite* in the *morasses* of Arracan, it would be unjust to compare them; besides which, the 1st corps has had the peculiar advantage of always being in one quarter, and having had for years their present Commander, to whom the officers and men look up as their father, officer, and friend.

Dec. 13. — Marched to Fureedpore (thirteen miles and a half); sandy country, with risings occasionally, but exceedingly well cultivated. Our course is now south, towards Futtyghur. A report came in of a tiger being close by. We accordingly sallied out, all eager for the fray, but had not the luck to meet with him. Plenty of hares in the corn and patches of long grass, close to the banks of a nullah: it is in these spots that game lies thickest.

Dec. 14. — Camp pitched at Futtygunge (nine miles three quarters). A party went out to the nullah, which we visited yesterday, and had some excellent sport. Plenty of hares,

black partridge, and antelope; with a brood of ducks in a snug pool of the nullah. Witnessed an instance of the ferocity of an elephant while shooting. A man attached to the animal, and whose duty it is to clean him, and when at work to urge him forward with the application of a large stick, was acting in his vocation, when suddenly the elephant put out one of his hind feet, pulled the unfortunate fellow in under him, and commenced kicking him from his fore to his hind legs; an operation these animals perform with so much accuracy and celerity, as to jumble the carcase of a tiger or wild boar to a mummy in a few seconds The violence was instantly perceived; and the driver digging the iron spike into the head of the elephant, made him yield up the lad, who was quite insensible, having had one of his thighs broken, and other hurts, but none of them so serious. He was put on a bed, formed by a ladder and a howdah cover, and sent to camp.

The quickness with which an elephant can hook in any thing with his hind legs, and the unerring certainty with which he can kick it like a ball between all four legs, is so great and extraordinary, that this poor lad's rescue with life was quite miraculous.

Dec. 15. — To Burrah Mutani (fifteen miles and a half); crossed a fine navigable nullah half a mile from camp, over a good bridge of elliptical arches, but which next year may prove quite useless, unless means are taken to induce the stream to continue its present course; it seems inclining to take a new direction by cutting a channel for itself, which will leave the bridge to bestride a sandy waste. It is of great convenience, being on the high road from Bareelly to Futtygurh.

Passed through a large town, called Cutterah, formerly of great note. There were two small ghurries, or forts; on each side of the road many remains of extensive buildings: on the north of the town is a plain of great size, which was the scene of a great battle between the Rohillas and the troops of Oude, some years since, but the exact date we could not learn, nor indeed any other particulars: in India, when a matter is once decided, the folks know no reason for keeping a remembrance of it alive. Cultivation all round in great perfection. The doll, or pigeon-pea, in great luxuriance. Had a fine chase after a wild boar through a field, but the corn was so thick that we could make nothing of it.

Dec. 16.—To the right bank of the Ramgunga (fifteen miles and a quarter): same country; as flat as a billiard-table; several nullahs and ponds of water. This element is procurable close to the surface, to which, doubtless, may be attributed the richness of vegetation in these parts. The usual row in crossing over this nullah, which, though not very broad, was of great depth; the pools of water abounding with wild fowl.

Dec. 17.—To Imrautpore (ten miles and three quarters); a pretty village, and large cultivation of indigo about it: nothing new.

Dec. 18.—Marched to the left bank of the Ganges, opposite Futtygurh, (nine miles and a quarter:) all these two last marches the land is under water during the rains. Indigo is chiefly grown in this neighbourhood. The river is broken, and there are many islands or sand banks in the middle. The principal stream is about 150 yards broad: quicksands and holes abound, to the great detriment of crossing. In the rains the river is three and a half or four miles across; but of course shallow in some parts.

Dec. 19.—Crossed to Futtygurh, and occupied our old ground on the parade. It has been before mentioned, that this place is re-

sorted to by commercial men from all parts. Many indigo planters, and others, make it their head-quarters, from which they are enabled to superintend their factories. Formerly there was a mint; it had, from being a frontier town, a large garrison, and civil establishment. Only one regiment of Native Infantry is now cantoned here: there is a corps of Irregular Horse waiting to die a natural death, if that consummation will obviate its desired disbandment. Like many others under a similar sentence of condemnation, when no longer considered necessary, and after having done the state some service, they have been ordered to be discharged. The measure was a cruel one, as it throws men out of employment who know no other means of procuring subsistence, unless they carry their arms and horses, with added military discipline and skill, to the aid of those who would willingly be our enemies.

This corps was offered to the King of Oude as an easy mode of dismissal; but his honoured parent, the late King, having accepted a similar offer, and repented it every subsequent moment, the gift, in the present case, was flatly refused.

Dec. 20.—The camp remained. It has been formerly stated that a quondam Minister of

Oude had taken up his residence at this place, from whence he can view with ease and security the occurrences in his former scene of power, and thereby be enabled to take advantage of matters as he thinks best. When he fled his country, he had the precaution to send a large sum of money to serve as ways and means for his future provision—it is rumoured, nearly a million sterling: it must have been something large, since the Nawaub, as he is called, has kept up large establishments, and frequently entertains the European inhabitants with dinners and balls; nor do the highest in the land refuse honouring him with their company.

The fact of the amount being so large is easily to be supposed by any one acquainted with the power and facilities given to the occupier of a situation such as the Nawaub held. He is also a merchant on a large scale; but one of his pursuits in this line has involved him in an apparently interminable law-suit in the Supreme Court in Calcutta, than which a native would rather face the infernal author, father, and instigator of law-suits—such is the horror of apprehended contamination from an acquaintance with that tribunal. The point at issue some time since was, whether or not he

was amenable to the jurisdiction of the court: it then was decided he was not. The present suit arises out of the former one, and on the strength of that decision he now sues his then captor, with whom he has a deadly feud, by a criminal information. Opinions are at variance: many persons well acquainted with both parties, and who are interested by no unworthy motives, declare the Nawaub to be an unprincipled man, and such likewise his adversary.

One thing has taken place which is a subject of regret; the Nawaub has been backed by the personal friendship and assistance of some of the public functionaries of the station; and, if fame lies not, he claims a master's, if not an owner's, right to their best services. Many listed themselves most ardently on the wealthy man's side: the Nawaub's munificent generosity, by which he can turn opinion in his favour, proves his discernment, and the weakness of poor human nature.

An anecdote current here, and allied to the recent occurrences, is so curious as to induce its insertion. A gentleman who had been, through thick and thin, the Nawaub's strenuous supporter, fell sick, and, fancying himself at the point of death, endeavoured to

bribe the powers above by a little auricular confession, in which he bitterly lamented the injustice he had done to his friend's opponent: but, like the Devil when he promised to turn Monk, finding himself somewhat relieved and better for his conscientious proceeding, he was desirous to recall the impression his fear of an hereafter had induced him to make through the medium of his words, and he hoped they might be considered as the mere consequence of a frenzy-fit; and he conducted himself accordingly. The Doctor to whom he applied was too knowing for the sinner, and peremptorily refused to lend himself to such a decided imposture; he gave the patient to know he was fully acquainted with his conduct, part and parcel, and then took his leave: the patient also got well, and quitted the station immediately.

The Nawaub entertained the Commander-in-chief and camp to breakfast and dinner. There are no sights to be seen in this vicinity: all the residents are loud in the praises of Futtygurh as a station. The weather now is cool, which makes a fire in the mornings and evenings very agreeable. Every produce of marketing is abundant and cheap; communication is rapid on all sides, by roads and

up and down the river; it is also a very healthy station.

Dec. 21.—Marched to Bhoreekpore (fourteen miles and a half); the first part over fine roads and through the most highly cultivated enclosures of wheat and potatoes: the latter are very fine, and peculiar to this place, and are sent to all surrounding parts as an acceptable present.

We are now crossing the Doab, to Etawah, on our way to Gualior, the capital or headquarters of Scindeah's camp: the road very indifferent the latter half; as it is seldom travelled, repairs are not often made.

Dec. 22.—To Binseah, (eleven miles and a half).

Dec. 23.—To Kissunee (ten miles); the country these two marches quite bare and most uninteresting; much of it under water in the rains, and as the soil has somewhat of salt in it, the saline particles form into a powder deposit, so much so as to resemble snow, and to prevent the sight from dwelling on it.

Dec. 24.—To Moorig Junpoorah (twelve miles). The villages have a curious appearance, being perched upon high mounds overlooking the fields: no peasant thinks of living out of the village in a cottage by himself; it

would not be secure, and would certainly tempt to plunder and murder. Large "jheels" in the neighbourhood, covered with innumerable flocks of wild birds. Near Binseah, on the 22nd, there was capital duck and teal shooting, and abundance of hare, &c. At this place there were many neal-ghye and antelope to the right; and on the left large patches of dried grass affords good cover to game of all kinds. Saw one of the finest flights of a long-winged hawk at a royal curlew; the height from which the birds descended, and the lightning-like rapidity with which they came, was quite astonishing.

CHAPTER IV.

Banks of the Jumna.—Ruined Towns.—Ravines.—Protected States.—Indian Aggression.—Payment of Arrears.—The Mahratta Camp.—Mahratta Etiquette.—Cotton Soil.—Gohud.—Appearance of the Villages.—Hindoo Rao.—His Escort.—The War Turban.—Visit to the Mahrajah.—The Meeting.—Etiquette of the Chiefs.—Perfect Eastern Style.—Our Reception.—The Queen Regent.

Dec. 25. (Christmas-day.)—Marched to Etawah, (thirteen miles and a half,) on the left bank of the Jumna river. The banks are prodigiously high, and are cut and perforated into enormous holes and ravines by the action of the rains upon them for many centuries: when in them, they look like mountains and valleys in miniature; they are steep, winding, and intricate, and run in all directions. The road, if once a person wanders, is difficult to regain. The soil is a hard conker, or conglomerated earth, nearly as hard as iron. When the softer

parts are washed away, the conker remains honeycombed: it is used in lieu of gravel for roads.

The town which overhangs these ravines has a curious aspect: some of the houses are perched on crags which have been cut off from the main body, thus verifying the boast of every man's house being his castle. In the town there are two or three very large and well-built natives' houses; but ruin and desolation appear to have shaken hands with the major part. It was once a place of great name and note, appertaining to trade and to war. It was a chief border town between the Moguls and Mahrattas, and many a foray has it most likely witnessed: being immediately on the bank of so deep and rapid a river as the celebrated Jumna, must have added to its security.

There is an air of departed consequence in all those towns, which were of importance from the circumstances of war and commerce during the time of the Mogul supremacy: this, to one acquainted with the magnitude and grandeur of their dominion, gives rise to regretful reflections. Any one even but lightly impressed with favourable notions of that people, whose inheritance we have acquired, as regards their real character for greatness of power, advances

in the civilized acts, or the virtues of humanity, must feel regret at the wane of such once prosperous fortunes, and acknowledge the instability of their own name and fame, when they reflect that the glory of the house of Timor has departed.

Dec. 26.—Crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats: the stream being narrow, nine were sufficient; they were large and strong enough to bear loaded elephants. The road from the town leads through tremendous ravines, and is so narrow as to preclude more than one wheel carriage proceeding at a time: these hollows offer an easy and effectual mode of defence to the town on the river-side. One mile and a half brought us to the water-side; here there are two very well-built handsome ghauts, or places for bathing. The Jumna possesses a sanctity, but far inferior to the Ganges; the current is deep and clear, and is confined, when at its full, by high and precipitous banks; the stream winds considerably. The ravines continue on the opposite side for about a mile from the river. On attaining the level ground the road led to Bindeapore, (seven miles,) through the richest cultivation imaginable: our route sometimes was actually through a corn-field, and our encampment was partly in a field of young wheat,

for want of sufficient room elsewhere. Fine groves of trees appeared in all directions, and added to the richness and beauty of the scene.

The camp halted here the 27th of December. In the morning rode down to the Chumbul, (four miles); the ravines commence about two miles from the river, but they are not so extensive or so deep as those of the Jumna. The road the whole way was good, having but recently been mended; the villages and inhabitants appear to be in better condition than those in the Company's provinces, which has been invariably remarked whenever the camp went from the British possessions into those of its neighbours. In the Bhurtpore state, the Begum Somroo's, in the protected Sikh states, and now in the protected Bundelkhund states, there is a withering touch of John Company's fingers, which, though transmuting all things to gold, leaves nothing but dross behind.

Dec. 28.—Crossed the Chumbul, a fine clear river, which takes its rise near the Nerbuddah, in Central India, and falls into the Jumna, thirty miles below this place. It is not navigable much higher than this point for boats at all times, which are therefore but few. The part where we passed was quite straight, the stream had shrunk into the middle-way be-

tween the two banks; these were lofty, gently sloping towards the water. The scenery was very pretty, patches of cultivation were on the slope, and the sun, breaking through a mist which was hanging in the valley, glanced his beams upon the water. A bridge of twenty-eight small boats was in readiness, prepared by Scindeah's people: and here another sample of Indian rule and power was witnessed—doors and timbers of houses and mills, were all seized to form platforms for the bridge, and these were not restored, perhaps, without their *unfortunate* owner having to *pay* for the time they were *borrowed.*

On ascending the opposite bank we found the acting resident of Gualior, accompanied by two of Scindeah's officers, waiting to receive the Commander-in-chief, with a complimentary message from the Maharajah. One of them was the Commandant of Cavalry, the other was the brother of the Secretary for foreign affairs. The escort attending these two officials were supremely mean; they were mounted on half-starved horses, themselves shabbily attired, and all indifferently armed. His escort was 1000 men, and formed in a rank entire. Spears, very long and unwieldy, and swords, were their weapons.

A curious circumstance, which accounted for the ill-appearance of these men, was stated by the Resident; they had been ordered a few days previously to be in readiness to receive the Commander-in-chief, but, as they were some years in arrears of pay, they flatly refused without a settlement. After considerable haggling upon this *unkind refusal*, the Mahratta pride conquered injustice and avarice. The money was paid on the 20th. Receiving their dues, they began their march, but being so hurried had no time to get themselves into order. The large sum of five lacs,* or 50,000*l.* was said to be the amount paid to the malcontents. Doubtless Scindeah's army would rejoice to see some of our great men come among them more frequently, as giving them a chance of getting their dues in due time.

Came to Birgowa, on the banks of the Koharry Nuddee, in the bed of which the camp was pitched: whole distance eleven and a half miles. Flour and butter, fire-wood and straw, all provided by the Rajah. Deep ravines down to the "Nuddee," or rivulet, and very heavy sand. Chilly day, with rain for some hours.

Dec. 29.—Left camp in a thick and wet fog; thermometer at 42°. Cleared the ravines, and reached Bhind, (six and a half miles.)

This is a large and populous town, walled, with bastions and gateways. On its west side there is a piece of water amounting to a lake. The place was of importance, and there are remains of numerous ruins of houses, temples, and stairs, for the convenience of bathing in the lake. Large portions of solid masonry still remain, which shame the meanness of the architecture of these degenerate days: the walls and ramparts are dilapidated, no care being taken to repair the ravages of time. The country not very much cultivated; large tracts of grass-land in all directions.

The Mahratta camp afforded a "lion" for the evening. It was very picturesque to those who had an eye for the sort of thing. On the margin of a large pond, with some handsome buildings and ruins around, the horses were picketed in circles, that of the chief of the party in the centre. The peculiar arms and dress of the Mahratta; the tent, the swords, shields, and matchlocks, and the long spears standing upright in the ground, afforded a notion of a plump of spears belonging to a party of Borderers, so well described by Scott. To add to the picture, the evening was serene; the sun, just closing his career, blushed the water with his glow, and tipped the spear-heads with his beams.

The scene and subject would have afforded matter for the graphic pencil of the painter of the "Circassian Captives." Great punctilio is observed in pitching a Mahratta camp, which in its arrangement resembles a hive of bees—the Queen-bee taking her station, and the others clustering round her. So it is with the Mahrattas; the chief selects his place, and the remainder assume their respective positions. An anecdote mentions that a chief, one day, not finding sufficient room between the head-quarters and a river for his body of troops, pitched a part of them in the middle of the stream; nor would he withdraw them until the whole camp was shifted to give him his proper place and accommodation.

On this day's march we met one hundred camels, going to Futtygurh for water from the Ganges, for the use of the Rajah and his family. The camels were fine animals, and their equipments were quite new. Each camel had two large and flat leaden cisterns, which when filled up, were sealed by a person especially appointed to the charge. The Ganges water is particularly esteemed for its sanctity, and is carried to all parts of India for the use of those who can afford to pay for it. Pilgrims take it from one end of the country to the other; and

I have seen some of these people at Cape Comorin, the very apex of the continent, who had filled their jars, and brought them in safety all the way from Hurdwar, where the Ganges enters the plains of Hindoostan, nearly fourteen hundred miles from the place where it empties itself into the sea. Many pilgrims, likely enough, fill up their vessels at the last stage but one; so saving the risk of loss by breakage or leakage, and the trouble and toil of carrying it so far.

Dec. 30.—Marched to Mahengowa (twelve miles): flat cotton soil the whole way, which, since leaving the Chumbul, has been chiefly the case. This soil is a black earth, which hardens almost into stone, and breaks into deep and wide crevices, making it a matter of extreme danger to ride across the country. After a shower of rain, the reverse occurs: this hard soil then becomes a deep clay, of the consistence of doughy pudding, and with all the tenacity of putty. The surface is as slippery as fat; elephants, camels, and all other cattle, slip about, and run great hazard in travelling. It is poor land, and cotton is its only production. Good shooting to the right of the camp.

Dec. 31.—Marched to Gohud (thirteen miles and a half). This is a very ancient town, with

the remains of extensive ramparts and bastions, a wet ditch, and stone citadel, all of which rendered it of great strength. It is the hereditary seat of a native chief, who, however, was requested to transfer himself and family to Dholpore, on the Chumbul, about fifty miles distant, in order that the Commander-in-chief of the Poonah army should have it bestowed on him during his life. This officer is called the *Seva-putty*, and is now on a pilgrimage to Muttra, and other holy places, in Hindoostan.

Visited the town, fort, and citadel. The town is large, and has many stone houses; the citadel has a stone wall and bastions, with some small guns: these gave his Excellency a salute on coming to camp, and on entering and quitting the citadel, as also on our departure the next day. There were two palaces, with some tolerable rooms: the sculpture on parts of the palaces, and on some stones, was finely executed. The wet ditch almost expands into a lake on the westward. Gualior, and some other hills, are seen from the palace, but distant.

The natives round these parts are Jauts; the Gohud chief is of that tribe. This fort was considered to be one of their most formidable

posts: to all but an European besieging army it might have proved so; but against one of that sort, well equipped, it could not have withstood long.

1st of the New Year, 1829.—Marched to Bhaderpore (eleven miles and a half). One very disagreeable feature during these last four marches is the appearance of the villages. In no other country is there such a complete absence of woodland, and the only relief to the monotony of interminable plains are the villages, which are always built upon mounds: these, at a distance, look like castles; and some of them have the additional defence of a mud ghurry, or fort. There is no such thing as a peasant's house standing in his own field, but all crowd, for common security, into the villages or towns. War, and its attendant evils, have caused this circumstance. A person may ride through endless fields of wheat and other grain, and not see a dozen peasants. Troops of antelopes and cyrusses* seem to be the only inhabitants.

January 2.—Marched to Jerrairwa, (eight miles and three-quarters,) within four miles of the rock of Gualior, which is immediately in our front, and looks like a large mountain

* A large bird of the crane species.

table, perfectly flat, and seemingly inaccessible. Much rain had fallen during the night, and made the roads very slippery and unsafe for the cattle. The same flat surface, but, if any thing, more sterile and uncultivated than for days past.

At a quarter past four in the afternoon, his Excellency received a visit from Hindoo Rao, the brother of the Queen Regent; and of the class of insufferable and insolent-looking coxcombs, he outdoes them all. Moreover, he is a dandy of the first water, and a real Mahratta from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. His character, as given by one long acquainted with him and the court of Scindeah, is that of a hard-hearted despot;—being a fool, he is not entrusted with business. His jagheer, or estate, is at a place called Rarwar, some distance south-west of Gualior. He came riding astride on an elephant, as the custom is among his people. As the *Bhaï's* (or Queen's) relation, he was deputed to do the honours of welcoming the Commander-in-chief. His face was painted; his mustachios had a most braggadocio twist, and were of desperate length: his looks and manner altogether were superciliously important, not to say arrogant. His person, with the exception of his belly and

stomach, which were divested of covering, was set off with the finest apparel. He had some large pearls round his neck, and two magnificent emeralds in his ears—they were doubtless of vast price. He came accompanied by thirty-five chiefs, some of them dirty dogs, who only showed themselves upon such occasions as the present, to establish some right pertaining to feudal service; for a few of the party were nothing more or less than mere chiefs of villages, and possessing but low appointments or occupations under the government. They were all introduced to his Excellency before Hindoo Rao. We learned that these ill-conditioned folks were only commanders of a few horse; but the nation being purely a military one, the introduction of them was an acknowledged right.

The horsemen who composed the escort were shabbily mounted and accoutred, but it is a principle understood with them to despise all appearances. Some of the chiefs of the highest rank were attired in gold brocade; and all wore their turbans in the true Mahratta style, which is a peculiar mode, quite different from any other people of India. A practice among them, and never omitted, is to tie an embroidered scarf over the turban and under the

chin. This serves more purposes than one; it is ornamental, and useful in retaining the turban securely on the head; and though last, not least, would, if fashioned of proper material, considerably damp the ardour of a sword-cut: they term this their *war turbun*. It appears that much discussion has taken place respecting our appearance in boots upon the Rajah's carpets, and it was suggested by his people that we should take them off, and substitute *red* stockings: this was, of course, peremptorily refused, and they, not to lose the *éclat* of a visit, consented, though most unwillingly, to waive the point.

Jan. 3.—Quitted camp in a mizzling rain, which had continued through the night. At a short distance from camp met Hindoo Rao, with a large suwarry, or *cortège*. Some few attached to his person were clothed in green, well-armed, and most admirably mounted. A large body of men came in his train; and on looking behind, the procession showed a forest of spears; but generally the appearance of the cavalcade was shabby and mean.

Passed through a part of the town, on the east side of the hill: this show gave us no favourable impressions of Gualior city; a thick

cloud hung over the hill, and obscured our view. Leaving it to our left, we continued on to the Residency, distant from the hill about three miles and a half. The site of this building was not chosen with judgment; our camp of yesterday would have been by far a more convenient and pleasant one.

Hindoo Rao accompanied us to the camp, which was pitched in the Residency compound; he then took his leave. At half past two, the hour appointed, his Excellency, accompanied by the whole staff, proceeded to pay the Mahrajah a visit; and a *gold stick* having made his appearance to tell us all was ready, we commenced our journey.

When about three miles from the Residency, and two from the town, which is called "Scindeah's camp," we halted to allow the Rajah's party to advance. At this time the crowd was immense, for the most part mounted, every horseman having the long national spear in his hand. A little period having elapsed, the Rajah's party was seen issuing from a gorge between two stony hills, and presented a most imposing spectacle of Oriental splendour. The Rajah was in a howdah on one of the finest elephants ever seen; and his caparisons were

of the most unique and costly description. Hindoo Rao crossed his elephant with his accustomed consequential stride.

Now began a succession of messages; gold and silver sticks, and sword bearers, running to and fro, arranging the forms of meeting, which might, and ought to have been settled long before. Our party was admonished not to go too fast, as haste on our side would lessen our dignity, and add to that of the Rajah's. How this was to be, few could divine; but such was the faith of the instructors. The two parties came to the distance of forty paces, perhaps, where each halted and dismounted.

It had been settled that an *exchange* of introduction of his Excellency's staff, and the chiefs of the Rajah, should be a preliminary measure to the contact of the big folks. A party of four or five left each head-quarters, and crossing, were introduced to the opposite chief, and then fell back to their own ranks. This mode of introduction is invariable among these people, the government of which holds the allegiance of its chiefs, as our former Kings did that of the Barons of their times; and although the feudal state and condition is not in its pristine force and character,

still, many of its attendant customs have a rigid attention paid to them.

The nobles and staff having all been made known to the two chiefs, the latter advanced with measured and suspicious tread, each being held back, somewhat in the manner two game cocks are by their tails, for fear they should be too much in a hurry. "*Easy!*" said the director of the English party: "Easy!" echoed the adverse one; and when they came within a couple of yards, they were let loose to embrace with all the cordiality their never having met before could inspire. Some complimentary speeches ensued, and to mount our elephants was the next proceeding. The Rajah set off to reach his palace first, in order to be in readiness to receive his Excellency, while we remained a short space, to give him what is termed in hunting phrase sufficient "law."

The Rajah is quite a lad, about fourteen years of age, of a very pleasing and mild expression of countenance: he is fair and good-looking; but appears dull, inapprehensive, and but little interested in what goes on around him: he was not, however, embarrassed, though it was his first appearance before a stranger of the Commander-in-chief's rank. In common

with his court, and all Orientals, who consider it no want of politeness, he chewed betel while we were present. Altogether, the method and mode of the interview seemed clogged with the jealousies of etiquette on the part of the court.

Hindoo Rao bore a conspicuous figure and part in the affair, in which there was more of Eastern style, form, and show, than at any other Native court we have yet visited. But the greatest charm apparent, was the total absence of any thing European; all was wholly Asiatic,—a circumstance not often witnessed in India now-a-days. An admixture of European taste, and the introduction of any articles of European manufacture, is always noticed as detracting much from Oriental scenery, and but ill accords with Indian customs and manners. Here the whole people were pure Hindoostani—in dress, in arms, in forms, ceremonies, and appearance.

It was now about half-past four, and conceiving the Rajah had ample law, we started after him. A mile and a half brought us to the palace in the "camp," as it is styled, but in reality it is a city. The houses in the main street are handsome, large, and built of stone: many others in the town, which belong

to wealthy persons, are of goodly dimensions and appearance.

Before entering the court-yard we passed through a street of his Sepoys, well armed and dressed: they were officered by Portuguese. There were also a few field-pieces, and a body of dragoons, by far the best-looking troops out. On this occasion, entering through the gate, we came to many good-looking buildings in Asiatic fashion; long gallery-looking chambers, with broadcloth curtains, and the whole outside of the building recently white-washed: the tops of houses were crowded with lamps prepared for an entertainment during our stay. Here the Commander-in-chief was met by some chiefs, who conducted his Excellency and suite up a very narrow staircase, and along a corridor between rows of armed men, till we arrived at the room in which the Rajah was,—a long open verandah, lighted by wax candles in different-coloured lamps and shades. The floor was laid with white quilted cloth, having along the sides broadcloths spread for the company to sit upon: these were in the shape of saddle-cloths. The Mahrattas affect to be wholly equestrian, and to know no other seats but their saddles; even the Rajah's guddee or throne is supposed to be nothing more, as such was the case in the

days of their primitive simplicity and at their first rise to power.

Nautch women were in attendance, who sang and danced; occasionally cannons were fired. After some time his Excellency, accompanied by Hindoo Rao, went to pay the Bhala Bhai, or Queen Regent, a visit. She is the widow of the Rajah Scindeah just dead. She gave the interview behind a curtain; the visit was one of ceremony only. Soon after their return to the hall, paun and betel were served: and we took our leave, the Rajah seeing us to the door, or rather the end of the carpet.

CHAPTER V.

Fort of Gualior.—Temple, and Mosque.—The Rajah's Visit.—Jhinsee.—Reception by the Queen.—Spear Exercise.—Dinner with the Rajah.—Fire-Works.—Hatred towards the English.—The Antree Pass.—Rocky Country.—Dutteah.—The Rajah.—House for Women.—Peculiarity of the Town.

January 4, 1829.—Rode out at day-break to see the fort of Gualior. The ascent is on the eastern side, and is by a broad flight of stone steps; in some parts camps, (merely inclined planes,) with fortified gateways at intervals. As seen through the lower gateway, the masonry and style of architecture are very striking and handsome; part of the building overhangs the rock, its foundation. The fort is nearly a mile and a half in length at the top, and is more or less scarped all round; with common vigilance it is wholly impregnable: the breadth varies, narrowing to the southern point. We were

shown all over the buildings inside: they were massive but handsome edifices: the rooms within them were large and elegant. Water is plentiful at the top, either in artificial reservoirs or from natural springs; there are several fine tanks cut out of the solid rock. The height of the fort is 380 feet, and commands a wide range all round.

To the south-west there is a recess in the mountain forming a sort of bay, 300 paces by 150 broad, but it is equally inaccessible as the other parts. On one side of this bight, or bay, are figures sculptured in the rock: some are of gigantic proportions. A high wall runs across from the two sides of the entrance to this recess; the enclosed part is converted into a garden, and might be made a very pretty place.

From this we continued our walk to the breach made by General White in the early part of the Mahratta war. The garrison would not stand a storm, but capitulated; had it been properly defended, no storming party could have succeeded. This breach is at the south-west angle; marks of the shot are still visible. Major Popham, on the 3rd of August 1780, took Gualior by escalade at the same point:

the work was one of complete surprise, and the loss little or none to either party.

A very ancient Hindoo temple is at the south end of the fort, having much fine carving upon it: but, being completely exposed to the elements, it has suffered from their united influence: it is in shape like those on the Coromandel coast, and must be of early date. Gualior, under the Mogul government, was a place of confinement for the chiefs and nobles of the land, and many a poor wretch has sighed out his captivity with his life upon its fated summit. There was a subterranean communication with the plain at the north end, but the passage has been so long neglected as to be impassable.

A handsome mosque is in the town, built in Jehangeer's time, 300 years ago. It is still in good repair, and remains an instance of the tolerating spirit of the Hindoos. The houses and shops are built of stone, abundance of good material being close at hand. The streets are dirty. The tombs of some sainted personages are in the town, and are resorted to by pilgrims.

The town of Gualior is at the north and east sides of the hill, while, what is called Scindeah's camp, is two miles (or nearly) from

the southern extremity. The fort, from the eastward, has a magnificent and imposing appearance. The battlements and towers are Saracenic, and the edifices inside are also in that style. No great stretch of imagination would be needed to suppose the scene laid in Grenada.

This afternoon being appointed for the Rajah to return the Commander-in-chief's visit, half-past five was the time fixed. At half-past four we mounted our elephants and proceeded half way to meet him. His *cortège* was splendid, the elephants magnificently caparisoned, and his followers well mounted and dressed; great, however, was the noise and tumult. The Rajah's guddee, or seat, and cushions, were already at the Residency, and spread out in the largest room.

The usual ceremonies and salutes took place, and, when we were all seated like so many tailors, a long and serious conversation ensued between the Resident and a Hindoo pundit, who communicated to his master Hindoo Rao. The pundit slid backwards and forwards with great agility, a novel mode of motion, but strictly in accordance with Mahratta etiquette. All this was out of time and place, and ought not to have occurred, as there had been ample time allowed for arrangements being made;

few of us could sit one minute in so irksome a posture, so we were obliged to loll upon our elbows, and fidget about incessantly. We were every soul of us on the floor, and there being a dimness of light, the affair was no bad representation of a large party at night invaded by marauding squadrons of fleas and their cousins, who need not be named to ears polite. The same unmeaning string of humbug, in its most literal acceptation, was given and taken; the Rajah then took his foot in his hand, as the Asiatic saying has it, and departed. The cavalcade, by torch-light, had a wild and singular appearance.

Jan. 5.—The camp was pitched to-day at Jhinsee, two miles east of the palace, and seven miles and a quarter from the old ground. Very cold this morning, thermometer at 38°, but as fine weather as could possibly be desired. Went by the road which led to the town, and through its principal street; the houses immediately close to the palace are extremely good, and this is accounted for by their belonging to wealthy individuals, or persons high in office about the court. All the rest of the "Camp" is a congregation of dirty lanes, which, owing to the recent rains, were knee-deep in not "translucent" mud.

At Jhinsee the grand artillery park is posted, amounting to 150 guns, of all calibres, chiefly of brass. The artillery-men, who are the best troops the Rajah has, are attired in light blue dresses and red turbans. The muzzles of the guns were ornamented with flowers; the carriages of many were crazy and quite useless for service. The guns were chiefly cast by French officers, in the great Scindeah's time, and display high perfection in the art of the foundry.

At 3 P. M. we went to pay a visit to the Bhala Bhai, or Queen Regent, and then on to Hindoo Rao. The latter met the party soon after its quitting camp. At the Bhala Bhai's we were ushered into a long double gallery; at the end of one of them was a skreen in front of a door; inside, were two or three other skreens, for the greater the number of these interventions, behind which a lady gives audience, the higher is supposed to be her regard for her reputation. The place in which we sat was painted gaudily.

Some little time having elapsed, we took leave, and proceeded to Hindoo Rao's house. He had prepared a covered verandah of white cloth in a garden, and had considerately provided us with chairs. He did his part with

great civility, more so than we should have given him credit for.

We soon got up and adjourned to an open space, where we were to be entertained with the spear exercise, by a few of the Rajah's men, and some of Hindoo Rao's own retainers. Two parties, of twenty men each, armed with long spears with muffs at their points, took post: one party retreated, and the other attacked its rear; from the attacking body, one or two men sallied out, and endeavoured to push their way in among the adverse host, but the long spears were too well handled to allow of their accomplishing the intention.

There was little interesting in the exhibition, which consisted of this attack and defence by each party in turn, as soon as the bounds of the exercise ground were reached. The spear is usually from twenty to twenty-four feet long, and to any one but a Mahratta, quite useless. They did not charge with it in the way Europeans do; but for offensive acts, they put it over their bridle-arm, which serves as a fulcrum or support. When retreating, they trail it on the ground, and from constant practice are enabled to change it from side to side, or whirl it round and round, by merely raising the hand over the head. A horse, unless well broken,

would never be brought to tread upon a trailing spear, which could be easily raised by turning the horse, and resting it on the bridle-arm.

The exercises of horsemanship were more pleasing, and evinced great skill; a sort of aide-de-camp to Hindoo Rao was the most agile and skilful person in the field. Hindoo Rao himself breathed a trial once or twice; but the exercise proving too much for his dandy notions and corpulent habit, he was glad to give up after a short display.

At sunset we set off for the palace, where we had been invited to dine by the Rajah. We were received in the usual room: after sitting some short time, the Rajah went down to the hall in which the dinner was set out, and we soon followed him. The table was laid in a long room with verandahs on both sides, and galleries above on each side of the centre: purdahs, or skreens,[1] depended from the windows, and occasionally these curtains moved, so as to allow some one inside to perceive what was going on without being seen. Only one side of the table was occupied by seats; the other was left open for the servants to put on the dishes and take them away.

The Commander-in-chief sat at the head of

the table, and each in rotation sat below him: the dishes were first handed to his Excellency, and then to the others in succession. The Rajah and his party were seated at a table close to his Excellency, so as to enable him to look along that at which his guests were placed. Curries and pillaws, roasts, and thin cakes of buttered bread, were brought: the meats were wholly of fowl and mutton; the Mahrattas would as soon have put a young roasted child on the table as a piece of beef. The dishes were highly seasoned with spices and sauces, and were much relished. The chief end seemed to be a quick succession of dishes: sweetmeats and fruits followed each other rapidly; indeed, all was hurry and confusion.

Men holding high and confidential places brought in the dishes, and placed them before us; among them, the person most in favour with the Bhai was pointed out. A question to any of the persons bringing a dish, ensured an inquiry with his fingers as to what it was composed of; but this primitive mode of research by no means reconciled the viand to our palates: it was better to eat in blessed ignorance than to have the appetite damped by such fingering process.

The wines were good, having come from the

Residency cellar. Being well filled, and quite starved with the cold, which was most searching and bitter, we adjourned to the audience-room, and fire-works became the order of the night: these were of divers descriptions, and proved very good.

The party broke up at 10 o'clock, and on the road home was entertained by another display of fire-works at the Artillery-ground, all of which were well arranged, and gave great delight. Here several of the elephants ran away: one unlucky wight had the delightful apprehension of breaking his neck in the race which his animal ran. When he returned to the party, he flattered himself that the fun was over; not so, for, in the style of Gilpin's horse, the elephant, being frightened by another explosion, he set off beyond any control: luckily no harm ensued.

On looking back upon all which has taken place during our visit, and the manner of our reception, there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that our absence would have been good company. It is true that civility was observed towards us, but it was unattended by the slightest demonstration of cordiality; indeed, it was but too apparent that all was forced. It appears that the English are de-

tested at this court, and nothing but absolute rudeness prevented the Rajah, through his ministers, saying that he was indisposed; in other words, that he was not at home. Had the intimation of our coming been conveyed in other terms than those in which it was, a refusal would certainly have ensued; but the message importing that the Commander-in-chief purposed visiting Gualior, obviated the necessity of a formal invitation: had we waited for one, doubtless it would have been for some time. The Bhai, Hindoo Rao, and the person whom the former has taken into her confidence, all hate the English, and scruple not to show it where they can with safety. The court, if such an assemblage can be so termed, is completely governed by the latter of the above personages, and nothing is permitted to be done except by him or through him.

The land round Gualior is sterile; it consists chiefly of rocky eminences, with occasional patches of long coarse grass: the heat reflected from the rocky soil is sometimes past endurance. The Residency is badly situated, and infinitely disgraceful to those who persisted in placing it where it is, when the option was given by Government to erect it in any direction within a proper distance of the Rajah's

abode. It is considered also an unhealthy situation: there are no Company's troops but the Resident's escort at Gualior.

Jan. 6.—Left at half-past six, on one of the most delightful mornings possible to conceive; the thermometer 34°; hoar frost to a considerable thickness was on the ground; the atmosphere was clear and sparkling, and the sun rising in cloudless majesty, gave a cheering influence to the scene, quite gladdening to every feeling. It must, however, be mentioned, that the natives, from their being so ill-clad for such an extent of cold, were ill able to bear its effects. In rain and cold, there is not a more miserable animal in existence than your Hindoostanee.

The road led along stony mounds as far as the Antree pass, which is a succession of low, rocky hills, with a narrow road, stony, difficult and full of holes. This disagreeable footing continued for three or four miles, till we arrived a little beyond the town of Antree, (twelve miles and three-quarters,) where we encamped. Only one cart, and that with severe labour and difficulty, could get on at a time. From a ridge close to camp, there is a fine extended view towards the east. Abrupt rocky eminences, or mounds, two or three miles apart, rise from

a surface as level as the ocean: there are several of these in different directions; they look like vessels under sail. Not much vegetation all this march; there was a very little at the commencement of it.

Jan. 7.—Marched to Dobrah (fourteen miles and a quarter). The country interspersed with rocks, as yesterday: dark cotton soil, with huge cracks and fissures; large and deep ravines in many parts: hogs and leopards very numerous among the hills or rocks. Passed the Fort of Pekore to the left, a few miles distant: other small forts upon the hills. Weather cold, threatening rain. Unsuccessful in an excursion after some hogs in a sugar-cane field.

Jan. 8.—To Oparie (nearly thirteen miles): at eight from the old camp, crossed the Sinde river, the boundary of Scindeah's territories:* the stream low, but very clear; when full, it may be a quarter of a mile across: on both sides there are large and deep ravines.

We are now in the lordship of the Dutteah chief. This part is an extremely pretty country, being well wooded, and the villages in good order: there is abundance of all sorts of game. To the right there is a hill, about

* The Bundelkhund states.

three miles off, completely covered with Jain temples, of the forms peculiar to that religion: many of them look extremely curious.

Dutteah seen in the distance. In the evening, the Commander-in-chief received the minister of the Rajah, a fine antique, whose age was upwards of eighty-five—his figure double from its effects — but, in all other respects, he was as apprehensive and quick as a man thirty years his junior. He heard perfectly well, and spoke distinctly, though many of his teeth had shamefully deserted him: he has been in office above half a century. Many patches of long, coarse grass—a fine harbour for wild animals: the soil being soft clay and hard conker mixed, the rains quickly form ravines and channels, which afford shelter for leopards, jackalls, and hyenas; and this makes a gallop across the country a matter of difficulty and danger.

Jan. 9.—Marched to the east side of Dutteah fort (eight miles and a half). At two or three miles, passed through a part of the Rajah's preserves, in which no one is allowed to shoot without permission: they abound with antelopes, hogs, neelghye, hares, birds, and some cheetahs and bears. The Rajah and his minister came out to meet his Excellency.

Passed through the town, which is a remarkably clean and neat one; the houses well built and tiled. A wall encompasses the city, and is a strong, serviceable work, in complete repair. The citadel is also in good condition, and is built of stone. A fine specimen of architecture is to the south of the citadel; it is a Hindoo temple raised on a mound—really a beautiful object. The fort and the city are one; it is surrounded with gardens and groves of trees, and possesses many exceeding pretty summer-houses belonging to the Rajah.

Dutteah, in situation and appearance, is one of the neatest places we have visited. The Rajah is beloved for his justice and goodness; all ranks seem to be satisfied. He came with a large suwarree, or *cortège*, of very respectable sort, which remained at some little distance.

In our progress towards the camp, at half-past four, returned the chief's visit. Went through the town, and into the citadel: guns were fired, and other marks of attention shown, upon our entrance. Alighting, we passed into a garden, where, upon a raised mound or platform, the Rajah met us, and led his Excellency to a chair, under a "shumeanah," or flat tent, of striped chintz.

What we saw of the building pleased us

much: it was very old, but being formed of stone, was strong and massive, and is likely to live for ages to come. Presents of arms of different kinds being made and accepted, and otta, paror, and betel being distributed, we quitted the palace under another salute, and continued our progress to a garden belonging to the Rajah, in which he was building a new house: this is about a mile from the outer gate of the city, and is placed in a good situation.

Here we had an opportunity of seeing the inside of a house built especially for the convenience of the fair sex. All the guards that suspicious jealousy could devise to prevent the angel-faced creatures from being seen by other eyes than those of their lord and master, were in progress. The tracery and net-work was so contrived as to allow the inmates to look beyond their prison, but out of it alive they have no chance of going: their repinings can only be surmised by strangers, for they have no possibility of seeing any one but their owner, who looks upon them as formed to minister to his pleasures, and to have no other aim but that which points to so *worthy* a purpose. They are all confined to one story; there is only one entrance to the whole mansion, and that is strictly guarded.

A magnificent bowlee, or well, is just without the gate; it has fountains contrived to come out of the trunks of elephants, carved in stone. The well is an octagon, and eight of these stone animals stand in the niches of the sides of the well: there are stairs leading to some apartments below. The fruit of the garden was excellent, particularly the oranges.

Altogether, this town and the citadel, the people, costumes, and arms, being different from the surrounding countries, attracted our particular attention: the singularity was great; though in all there was much to be pleased with, and little to offend the eye. The revenue of the Rajah is about fourteen lacs, though the state party own to ten only. It is a policy inseparable from a state or an individual who is really wealthy, to conceal being so: the long ages of continued exaction from power and oppression have superinduced hypocrisy and deceit, hardly to be wondered at in a country where to possess riches beyond a mere subsistence was to be assailed by open or secret means for its seizure.

One great blessing consequent on the British supremacy, and which is candidly acknowledged by the prince and peasant, is the perfect security of property, and exemption from personal violence.

CHAPTER VI.

Halt of the Camp.—Jain Temples.—A curious Structure.—Boodh and Bramah.—An old Palace.—View from the Palace.—Jhansi.—Approach to the Citadel.—View from the Bastion.—Aspect of the Country.—A Hindoo Temple.—Fanatical Demolition.—An exhumated Image.—A magnificent Lake.—Eastern Sunset.—Air of Tierry.—A poor Rajah.—Possession of Cannon.—Enormous Bustard.

Jan. 10.—The camp halted, for the enjoyment of shooting in the Rajah's preserves. There were great numbers of people of all sorts and kinds, and of course great confusion; many accidents were near occurring from shooting in such a close-wooded country. Some shots passed close to a party which had assembled on the top of a house; upon which the person who fired was reproached for his bad shooting. He replied, he had shot at a hog. "*That may be,*" said his friend, who had been so near suffering from his want of

skill; "*but hogs don't usually fly!*" Only eight hogs were brought into camp;—some were of large dimensions.

I accompanied a friend to see the Jain temples, the distance about six miles: they are numerous, and several of them of curious structure: owing to the absence of the high-priest, we could not obtain any satisfactory information on the spot. The deity is Boodh, and his religion is by some supposed to have preceded the Braminical, for a very simple, and it may be imagined, a cogent reason—that of the Braminical not permitting the introduction of strange gods, when it was in the plenitude of its power. Another reason to the same point is, the caves and sculptures in different parts of the Continent of India, viz. at Elephanta, Gyah, and Ellora, in which figures and attributes of Boodh are in existence; and there are none of those gods and goddesses peculiar to the present creed of Bramah, except those which have been retained by the Bramins to serve their purpose, and these are not a few. When the peace threw open the lower provinces to the Hill states, the people from Nepal, and its hither boundaries, visited Gyah: they exclaimed, on beholding the statues and images, "Why, you have got our gods among

you!" These people are followers of Boodh; yet the statues and images in the temples have all been converted to the particular use of Bramah; or, to speak in *his* language, they are all incarnations, and as such, are revered in Hindoo theology.

Most of the Jain temples are new; but there is one under repair, bearing evident marks of great antiquity: the people allege it to be 1500 years old, which, from its appearance and architecture (of the simplest kind), may be near the mark. There is another, to the eastward of this temple, even of apparently older date. It is flat-roofed, a sure characteristic of antiquity: the material is hard granite; the pillars and cross-beams are ornamented with sculptures. From exposure and rubbing, the outside has suffered. Ages doubtless have elapsed, since the hands that fashioned and reared this building have been cold.

A curious structure is at the foot of the hill. It consists of five conical pillars, with green painted tops, in a line from east to west: the two larger in the centre: the pillars have tiles stuck in them resembling steps. We could not learn what was its meaning or use. The village is wholly Jain, and is named Serrowlee. We met the priest after our re-

turn home: too late, however, for inquiries respecting the many objects very deserving of investigation, and which could only have been satisfied on the spot. The priest, whose name was Bhager Bhuttak, was an intelligent old man. He was perfectly aware that the caves of Ellora and Salsette had been excavated by those of his faith, which he could prove, beyond a doubt, to have preceded that now dominant.

The Ceylonese, the Burmans, Thibetians, and some Chinese, are followers of Boodh, and these are the nearest people to the Hindoos: but if, as some imagine, Boodhism was supplanted by the laws of Bramah, it must have been at an early period; for the original histories of India, and the customs of the people, exactly pourtray those of the Hindoos of the present day. There is no authentic history of the sect of Boodh, of its rise and progress; but then again it may be argued, that the followers of Alexander, who are the first to mention India, did not reside long enough to learn what the former or the then history of the country was, or if where they were was more the focus of the Bramin creed than that of Boodh. It is to be hoped that the point is capable of being cleared up; not so much for the intrinsic importance of the subject, though

a very interesting one, as for collateral points of information to be derived respecting the civil and political history of this first-born quarter of the world, which may be gained while in search of the less consequential fact.

His Excellency at two received the Killedar of Sumpter, one of the Bundlekhund states. The Rajah was refractory last year, and it was supposed that the Cawnpore division of the army would have had to move against the fort. He, however, wisely succumbed. The chief being an infant, the acts, of course, were those of the ministers, and arose from a contention for power: a thing as dear to Asiatics as to others. The embassy requested his Excellency to visit the fort; but time and opportunity were wanting.

The weather is getting very warm; and the rocky soil adds greatly to the heat. Went in the evening to see an old palace, at the west end of the town, which was built by the founder of the family, Bulsun Deo. He and others, instigated by some one of the reigning family, set upon the party of Abool Fuzzel, the great minister of the great Acbar, and succeeded in murdering him, to the extreme regret of every good man. The plunder which accrued by the success of this outrage helped

to recruit the finances of the Dutteah Rajah, and the palace arose from the detestable means. It is now about 220 years old, built of stone from the neighbouring rocks, and is enormously solid. It is so large and so curiously constructed as to render a description impossible to be understood: it is capable of holding a large garrison, and strong enough to stand a siege. Nothing but mining, which, from the nature of the foundation, would be a work of great labour, or heavy guns, could subdue it. In some parts there are nine stories, but in the principal part of the mansion there are only three.

The view from the top is exceedingly extensive, and amply rewards the toil of ascent. Sumpter, to the north-east, appears on a plain; Jhansi is to the south-east; outside Dutteah a broad belt of tall tree jungle surrounds the town. To the west are some hills, and close to the walls are two or three lakes, which, with a little trouble, could be made to communicate with each other, and, as they incline round the town, would add to its defence.

Jan. 11.—To Amabah, (eight miles and a half,) a village prettily situated in a valley. The camp was hid from view until we arrived close to it; a number of palm-trees gave the

village a peculiar appearance: there were none of other kinds. The first part of the march was through jungle and over stony roads, undulating and rocky plains to the right and left: little cultivation, and only where the rains flood the land. The Jhansi Vakeel came to camp.

Jan. 12.—To Jhansi, (twelve and a quarter miles,) good hard roads, rocky soil. The Rajah met his Excellency two miles outside of the town, and saluted our party with great guns and musketry. The Rajah is three-and-twenty, good-looking, and is much liked; he is very active, and does his utmost for the prosperity of his people and the importance of the city, in all honourable and useful ways. He was on an elephant most superbly caparisoned; the great weight of silver on the howdah, and the net-work and chains about the animal, as well as the beautiful workmanship, must have made it very valuable. We were all struck by the appearance of the citadel, which is very lofty, and somewhat resembled the towers of Windsor Castle.

The town exceeds even Dutteah, but, as it is the Rajah's only city, he can afford to lay out more upon its appearance than if he had others. The Jhansi Raj is large, and extends

in many directions: the chief takes great care of it, and looks to the cleanliness of its streets and bazars, and superintends all its internal arrangements.

In the evening his Excellency and staff returned the Rajah's visit; the dust was an impervious cloud, most disagreeable to the eyes, nose, and mouth, and added to the already great heat. The approach to the citadel, where the palace is situated, was up an ascent, through massive arches, with towers far above, frowning as gloomily as could be wished by a lover of romance, and forcibly reminding him of what he has read of baronial castles of olden times. Our road led through embattled courts and under grim portals, while the thundering welcome of the cannon ran through all the avenues with redoubled echoes. There was more *effect* than usual in our reception, encreased by the singularly equipped soldiers of the chief; bold faces whiskered up to the eyes, the peculiar fierce-looking turban, the antiquated arms, in use perhaps for centuries, the sword, matchlock, spear, and shield; while others hanging against the wall of a guard-room, were doubtless a picture of the state of things ages ago.

The castle must be old, for the very evident

superiority of situation, as a fortress, would not have allowed its position to be neglected, and being built of granite, on a foundation of rock, it would defy the assaults of old Time, even to his end. Some very old battle-axes and spears were hanging up in the gateways. The favourite figure of Hanumaun was safely niched in the wall: he was, as usual, quite red with paint, and liberally daubed with oil. A bastion is on the extreme height of the citadel, to which there is an ascent from the palace by a long flight of steps. The view was grand, and received the lustre of an unclouded setting sun; the landscape was far superior to other parts of Hindoostan proper. Oorcha and Burwah-Saugor in sight. There are two large guns upon this bastion, but, from the construction of their carriages, which were fixed, they were next to being completely useless. Presents were made: these consisted of two remarkably handsome matchlocks, mounted in gold, and some spears, also highly ornamented.

After quitting the palace, which was well fitted up and adorned with hanging lamps and several English prints, coloured and plain, we mounted our cattle (elephants), and rode through the town, which is well worth seeing, from its contrast to the usual state of Indian

cities. Without the walls is a large tank or pond,—the place for the performance of the revolting and abominable practice of Suttee, or widow-burning with the corpse of the husband. We counted forty piles: a tomb had been erected over each. It was a source of great satisfaction to learn that the Rajah discountenanced, and did his best to prevent, the suicidal practice.

Jan. 13.—To Burwah-Saugor (twelve miles and a half). The adjunct, "Saugor," implies Lake, in the dialect of Bundlekhund. The road good, but stony; cultivation scarcely attended to. The aspect of the country was undulating downs, with high abrupt hills in various directions. Left the town of Oorcha to the right six or seven miles; crossed a good stone bridge of some length, over a torrent in the rains, but now entirely dry. A little more than half way, crossed the Betwah, middle-deep; it more resembled a mountain-stream, and was quite at variance with the usual placidity of Indian rivers. It was, perhaps, one-third of a mile in breadth, and confined between high banks; the bed is wholly rocks and stones, the stream running with great velocity. The footing is very insecure; and had there been a little more water in the channel,

the passage of the camp must have been delayed. The water is clear, and much beautiful scenery is on the banks.

Reached Burwah-Saugor. Immediately on the right is a Hindoo temple, which I think one of the rarest sights, on the score of architecture and sculpture, which have gratified our curiosity. The work of the chisel would have immortalized the artist had he lived in the present day; I have never seen its execution rivalled, although tolerably conversant with similar objects of art. The elegance of design—the arrangement of the figures, which were too numerous to be computed—the position of them—the sharp and bold relief, and the elaborate ornaments of foliage and animals, render it one of the most remarkable monuments of art it is possible to conceive. There are compartments on the lintels of the doors and the entablature four deep; figures of the subordinate deities in the voluminous code of Bramah, symbols of their attributes, sacred utensils, and animals. Two vases are on the threshold, which for shape and execution would compete the palm of excellence with Grecian art. Wreaths of snakes, and groups of men and women, are on the columns, which

also have other ornaments, and are well proportioned.

The temple is a square of twenty feet perhaps. Half-way up, it assumes a slight elliptical curve, and terminates in a point; a lotus was formerly the ornament which crowned this beautiful structure. On the north and south ends, or sides, are two porches, eight feet high; they project from the building, and are also highly ornamented. Behind the temple, to the west, were two smaller ones, characterized by the same excellence of art; but in these, the figures were in honour of some lesser personages. The large one had the figures of Mahadevah and Parbutty his consort. At a rough guess, there are several thousands of figures, the smallest ten inches long: the flowers are innumerable, and they are most naturally delineated. Nor has the outside of the building been neglected, though exposed to the elements: just where it commences the curve from the square form, it is formed like the trunk of a palm-tree, or the scales of a fish inverted. The whole has been enclosed in a brick wall by the piety of some wealthy religious man.

I could not resist a second visit to this edifice, which, at the risk of appearing opiniative,

I can seriously aver I never saw equalled for richness and taste; but the hand of intolerant bigotry has marred the work of fair proportion. The fanatical Moslems, who overran the country in the time of Acbar, broke and defaced every image they saw, and, with few exceptions, the head of every figure of any size or importance has been demolished. The two principal images of this temple have been broken in half; one of the most perfect specimens of Hindoo mythology has been wantonly mutilated, and nothing remains but relics which attest the advance of the arts at the time the structure was reared.

A Rajah, by name Chandail, some seven hundred years ago, has the merit of having built this temple, as he has also that of many others; but it is to tradition alone that we are indebted for any notice respecting it, and therefore, what is related is to be received with becoming caution.

About fifty yards to the south there is a small mound, with the ruins of another temple. The Hindoos at the period of the destruction of their altars above mentioned, managed to conceal beneath the surface a marble image of Gowree Shunker Mahadeo. The building in the course of time fell to ruins; and only a

few months ago a cowherd, while pasturing his cattle, saw on the ground something white, and, on searching, found the image.

The people assembled, and hailed its restoration. It had lost one hand; but as three remained, the loss could not be thought very great. They set it upon its original foundation. It is of a very white stone, like marble, but finer and of harder grain. It personifies Mahadeva under one of his numerous designations. He is in a sitting posture, with sandals on his feet and ornaments on his ankles; he has a sword in one of his right hands; a snake is wound round his neck, with the head of the animal reposing on his lap. The countenance of the figure is exceedingly pleasing, and there is a smile playing on the features; so finely are they chiselled, that one would suppose but a few days had elapsed since the image left the workman's hands. Behind this there is another image, but broken in two; the head has left its natural place through the instrumentality of the Mahomedan hammer. On it are carvings similar to those of the large temple, which induces the supposition that it formerly had a niche in it for its reception, and was of contemporaneous formation.

The Commander-in-chief received the Oorcha Rajah this afternoon: he was a fat man, apparently twenty-six years old. He came accompanied by his father, who had abdicated in his favour: the latter, a remarkably fine old man, plainly dressed. The suwarree (*cortège*) was good, and a huge host of people came with it.

In the evening went to a sort of citadel, or fortified place, on the border of a magnificent lake. The house, which is inside the fortress, is lofty, and commands an extensive view over the surrounding country: it is situated on the west side, and on the extreme edge of the water, which at this spot is very deep. The *bund*, or embankment, runs north for a full mile, and restrains the water from overflowing the lower country; indeed, the lake is formed merely by running a bank across a declivity, which had a natural hollow, and thus prevented the escape of the water. The *bund* is of solid masonry, composed of large blocks of granite. Towards the south side, the shore shelves so gradually that in the rains the lake increases its size to a great extent. In it are numerous rocky islets, the resting-place of huge flocks of wild fowl. We have seen few places, since our leaving the hills, which can boast of such pleasing scenery,

for few, if any, have the advantage of a fine sheet of placid water, and rocks and mountains for a back-ground: the setting sun gladdened the waters with the last blushes of his parting beams, and threw a warm glow upon all things.

The hills towards Keitah, which formed part of the landscape, were covered with forest-wood; now and then a large bare space peeped out. These mounts were crowned by huge blocks of granite, as if fashioned and placed there by giants of the earth. Few sights are more glorious than the setting of an eastern sun: the lake, whose waters were without a ripple, reflected a deep purple tinge; the mew was skimming with lazy wing to its nest upon one of the islets; the bubbles of the fish ceased; and Nature, like the departure of the just, was sinking to rest serenely.

Jan. 14.—The camp halted for the Commander-in-chief to return the Rajah's visit. At five in the morning we started by torch light: the town was six miles at least distant. south-west. The road, which at first led through fields, was tolerably good, and continued so till we reached the Betwah, on the left bank of which the town stands. The bed of the river is entirely of irregular-shaped masses of rock, with large round stones and pebbles, over

which the water rushes with prodigious violence. There were several channels to cross. The footing for elephants and horses was very insecure.

On the banks of the river were dells, coppices, and rocks, giving it quite an European look, and when the river is at its greatest height, the scenery must be very beautiful. Now and then there occurs a rapid in the middle of the river, which causes one white sheet of foam. Gaining the left bank, we were saluted by the Rajah's cavalcade, and then passed through the town, far gone in ruin. Our approach to the castle, in which the Rajah resides, was by a good stone bridge, bearing, however, the marks of long neglect.

It is said that, the Rajah's bed not being blessed with a son, he was advised to try the air of Tierry, another of his towns: it was efficacious, and judging from the result, his success was a thumping large one, for the son cannot weigh less than sixteen stone. The castle, in the rains, stands upon a rocky island, the river embracing it; but now there was no water on the land-side by which we entered.

The palace somewhat resembles the Dutteah Rajah's; it was built in 1531, but it is neither so large, nor on so fine a plan. The view from

the top of it amply repaid the labour of ascent, for the eye wandered over river and hill, woods and dells, pleased with the simple grouping of Nature's hand.

The Rajah's family is one of the most ancient in Bundelkhund: but his patrimony has kept pace with his antiquity in an inverse ratio, and now he has little remaining to support the dignity or the pride of ancestry which has been accumulating for ages. There are several distinctions in the family bestowed by former Mogul Emperors: one is the insignia of the Fish, called the Mahi Muratib, which was conferred by Jehangeer, the successor of Acbar. The cultivation was luxuriant within the precincts of the town, and wherever water could be easily procured.

Jan. 15.—Marched to Ogora (thirteen miles); country thinly cultivated, and the soil black and full of fissures. The encampment was a pretty one, having trees interspersed among the tents: large plains, with abrupt rocks rising from them, having huge lumps upon their summits. Heat increasing; the soil becomes so hot in the day that it scarcely has time to cool during the night. On looking at the map of Bundelkhund, lately constructed, there appear two or three ranges of hills running par-

allel to each other, with perfect regularity and evenness: their course is south-west and north-east.

Jan. 16.—Course easterly; reached Banpunooah, (nine miles and a half,) the boundary line of the Jhansi and Oorcha Rajah's territories. Our encampment was close to the fort of Talori, but in the Jhansi country; the distance between the two places was not more than one and a half miles. Talori belongs to the Oorcha lord. The scenery was pretty on this march; a chain of hills to the left: on one of the summits was an old-looking castle.

Visited the fort, which is in good repair; the citadel is strong. The town is almost surrounded by a lake, and can be wholly so when required; as there is no commanding eminence, or any cover near it, approach would be difficult. A salute from some brass guns greeted his Excellency on visiting the fort. The possession of cannon is a privilege which confers most important consequences upon Native chiefs, and it is eagerly sought by those who can afford to support the attendant expense. The prospect from the citadel was more open, and the hills and rocks were fewer than usual.

Jan. 17.—Marched to Paharee Bunkah (ten miles and a half nearly); the whole road was

through one vast plain of cultivation, wheat, gram, and chickarry, as far as the eye could traverse: oil is expressed from the latter. A bustard was seen to-day by some of our hawking party; the hawks were flown, but would not attack it; it was shot by a native, and brought to camp. The bird was an old one, weighed twenty-seven pounds and a half, and measured across the wings seven feet and a half. His ruff and beard were enormous, and looked most venerable.

The weather increasing in heat, though the evenings and mornings are tolerably cool.

CHAPTER VII.

Cultivation.—Kocheck and Kytah.—Chicari.—A Chasse.—Daily Marches.—Zoolficar Ali.—Bandah.—Female Delicacy.—Daily Marches.—Fort of Kallinger.—A Fortified Hill.—Ancient Relics.—Range of Hills.—Pleasant Country.—Cross the Jumna.—Rivers Ganges and Jumna.—Lakreeong.

Jan. 18.—The anniversary of the capture of Bhurtpore in 1826. Marched to Garowta (ten miles), over a dead flat, one sheet of cultivation, wheat, teesa (oil), and gram. Gram and wheat are sown together; the gram spreading its fern-like leaves, protects the roots and young stems of the wheat from the scorching influence of the sun. The road to-day wound much through the fields, to avoid some rocky ridges, one of which was singularly scarped on the east side.

The heat quite oppressive; thermometer up

to 90° and 92°, which, for this period of the year, is unprecedented, and makes us rather dread the remaining three weeks' march before us. Nothing stirring as to novelty.

Jan. 19.—To Kocheck (eleven miles and a half). Crossed the Luckairee Nuddee; it had but little water in it. Close to Kocheck crossed the Dessaum river, a goodly stream and very clear: ravines on both sides, so that only one cart could proceed at a time. The Political Agent for the Bundlekhund states came out to meet the Commander-in-chief: he has also judicial functions in the English territory. Same soil and features of country. Owing to rain having fallen, the weather is sensibly cooler.

Jan. 20.—Marched to Kytah (nearly ten miles): this is a British station in the Bundlekhund states. The force consists of one corps of cavalry, and one of infantry, both Native, with a small proportion of Native artillery. On the march, the Rajah of Jalown, a chief of considerable wealth and importance, met his Excellency. Kytah is much disliked, owing to the distressing heat universally prevalent in these states; the nights are as bad as the days almost, for at that time the winds subside. The effect of the sun's rays on the hard soil and rocks is almost beyond belief.

His Excellency reviewed the infantry, and received the Vakeel of the Chicari Rajah, whose city is sixteen miles south-east. The localities about Kytah are by no means inviting; large dreary flats, only interrupted by deep ravines, extend for many miles: clouds of dust fill the air continually. The camp halted.

Jan. 21.—Saw the cavalry in review order; they did well in all things. Returned the Jalown Rajah's visit; the usual presents of guns, armour, and spears, the former very handsome. All wishing for an end of the march. Heat returned.

Jan. 22.—To Chicari (fifteen miles and a half), over an uncultivated flat. Many abrupt hills. Chicari has a fort upon a high rock. From its isolated position and steepness of the sides, it may defy assault; every part is quite bare of verdure: the fort inside is long and narrow, easily defended by stones alone. There are cisterns on the top in which rain-water is caught: there is also one poor diminutive spring. The town is nothing more than a large dirty village.

The Rajah is an old man, whose heir is only fourteen years of age, but good-looking, smart, and intelligent. The revenue is nearly four lacs. There is not much of interest here, except that

the country abounds with game of all kinds. The Commander-in-chief returned the Rajah's visit of the morning. The palace is mean and surrounded with huts: altogether the wealth and importance of this state is but small, compared to the others.

The camp halted here the 23rd for a *chasse*, which had been promised his Excellency, when the Vakeel came to congratulate him on his march to Cawnpore, after the capture of Bhurtpore. The whole camp sallied out eager for the fray, but not one animal was brought in, numerous as the hog, antelope, &c. were. It was laughable to hear how many were killed, for every one fancied he had demolished a dozen at least; but somehow the poor brutes managed to get away. The Rajah sent a neelghye (a huge beast), a hog, and an antelope. The wild hog, when roasted and cold, is the most delicious eating possible. The flesh of the antelope is dry, and resembles hare. Parts of the neelghye, when boiled down, make excellent soup.

Jan. 24.—To Bumbowree (nine miles and a half); fine shooting country, full of antelopes, spotted deer, and neelghye. On leaving Chicari, we passed through a part of the town which was walled and protected by a wet ditch.

The village of Bumbowree was pretty large, and appeared prosperous.

Jan. 25.—To Chaunee, a small village belonging to the Chicari Rajah, (ten miles,) through extensive cultivation of barley, gram, and teesa. Many ranges of hills and insulated mounds; those to the southward are clothed with trees and short prickly underwood: soil still the black mould, full of fissures. Sportsmen out, but met with only tolerable success, owing to the thick jungle and ravines.

Jan. 26.—Marched to Atgar (eleven miles). Same flat surface, but one unbroken field of culture, looking most beautiful. We are now in the Company's district. Hills are fewer than yesterday. Heat increasing, though the mornings are cool and pleasant; obliged to remain in camp all day.

Jan. 27.—To Bandah (twelve miles). At first, through good cultivation; latterly the country quite bare. Crossed the Cane, a good-sized river, very clear; its bed having large rocks in it. In this river are found particoloured stones, of which necklaces and other ornaments are made. On the left bank is the old fort, entirely disused and going fast to decay, as do all things in this climate which have not unremitting care and attention paid to them.

The fort is of stone, and commands the river. Bandah is on the right bank of the Cane; it is a large, clean, and well-ordered town. The inhabitants are for the most part Mahomedans; the chiefs of the district are of that persuasion, and the city being their only residence, is the cause of the Hindoos being less numerous.

The present Nawaub, Zoolficar Ali, was waiting on the opposite side of the river, to escort his Excellency into camp, which was pitched close to his house. The Nawaub himself is a good-looking and very gentlemanly man, fond of English society, but possessing wit enough to prefer those whose manners accord with his own proper notions of decorum, and to decline intercourse with others. He saw the error in the conduct of his brother, whom he succeeded in the estate: the latter was member of a dragoon mess, and drank deep and long; the consequence was that he lost the respect of his own people, and was the continual butt of his new acquaintance.

In the history of this family may be traced several circumstances which resemble some of our second Charles's numerous *liaisons*. It dates its origin but a few years back. A former Peeshwah of the Mahrattas, in his march through this part of the country, left an ille-

gitimate son, who was the father of the present Nawaub, and his late brother Shumshere Bahauder. According to Oriental fashion, the Peeshwah left his son a large tract of land in this quarter, of which Bandah was the chief place. Succeeding events brought the state into collision with the English, and after a fruitless struggle, Shumshere Bahauder surrendered all his rights and claims as a prince for a pension of four lacs per annum on him and his heirs. This pension is all that is enjoyed by the present chief.

The late Nawaub built a house in the European style, large and well planned. He was also particularly fond of horses, and entered upon the turf, on which he lost large sums. We went round the stud; it was small, the present chief not taking so intimate an interest in such matters as his brother did, although his notions lean towards the English. The fine old thorough-bred horse, Beninborough, was passing the remnant of his days in all the comfort of ease and plenty. In the evening the Nawaub's visit was returned; it was gratifying to see the polished manners of a Native, who added to the ease and mildness of an Asiatic, the ideas and pursuits of an English gentleman.

The camp remained here the 28th; his Ex-

cellency reviewing the corps and inspecting the barracks, &c. The cantonment of Bandah is prettily situated; the bungalows and gardens are good. The roads are not exceeded by any throughout India; hard conker pounded, makes them as level as a table. Care has been taken to plant the sides of the roads with umbrageous trees,—a duty indispensable in every town and cantonment, as far as regards health and exercise, but which is shamefully neglected in almost every other part of the country.

Bandah is a civil as well as a military station; it is, like all the district, oppressively hot, and from the same causes: close to the town there is a rock three hundred feet high, the only one in the neighbourhood, and most ably does it fulfill the part of "heater" to the lieges. In the rains the stagnation of the atmosphere is scarcely to be borne. The black soil has the property of retaining heat from its extreme hardness, there being no loose earth above to destroy the power of the sun's rays, as is the case in a sandy or loose soil, which, if it imbibes them quickly, as quickly loses them. Frequently, when marching in the morning, we have encountered a wind, which, passing over a mass of rock, had been thoroughly heated. Stagnant pools, owing to water not being

allowed to escape, adds to the unhealthiness during the rains. Bandah, for these reasons, is avoided by all who can escape from it.

The Nawaub gave a party to the Commander-in-chief, to which the whole station, male and female, were invited. The Asiatic notions of female delicacy and decorum are so vitally assailed in the very public manner in which European ladies display themselves at these parties, that if they knew (which most assuredly they do not) that contempt is the least offensive feeling their presence excites, they would refrain from going into the company of natives. Let our ladies ask a native of high character and feeling what are his opinions of their being seen in the mixed society of Europeans and natives, or indeed any save of their own relations—judging from the laws and usages of his own people, which have delicacy and modesty for their guide. Such a person is shocked at the bare idea, and cannot admit for an instant of a reference to the females of his own family. If any one else, of less polished nature, is asked, his answer will indicate contemptuous disgust, or will be coloured by the bold and sensual notions peculiar to the Asiatic character.

But it cannot be denied that we had reason

to regret that our fair countrywomen were present on many occasions, where the Nautch-women, the singers, the songs, and dancing were such as to lead any reasonable person to suppose those places would have been the last for them to have adorned and dignified with their presence.

Fireworks and innumerable lamps were displayed after dinner: there was less wine and noise than usual, and the party separated, pleased with the host and with each other. Rain fell this morning.

Jan. 29.—Marched to Gyrah (eleven miles): excellent road: the camp pitched under a hill in a fine grove of trees, close to a tank. Kallinger in sight to the south-east: fine culture close to camp. Cool to-day, from the rain of yesterday.

Jan. 30.—To Goorha (fifteen miles): capital road, and much cultivation: passed between some rocky hills, with enormous stones on their summits. The camp was pitched on the right bank of the Bauggy Nuddee, a nice clear stream, with excellent fish. Deep ravines on both banks of the Nuddee.

Jan. 31.—To Kallinger (ten miles). This is a hill-fort, wholly impregnable with fifty determined men. It was besieged by Colonel

Martindell, but money won a way for the besiegers. From all sides it is safe from escalade. At the east end there is a smaller hill, of considerable less elevation; it is called Little Kallinger, and on the shoulder of it the British batteries were erected: these managed to knock down a wall on the parapet; but as to forming a breach, it was quite futile. Even after the place was ours, some of the officers tried in vain to clamber over the fragments of the wall: a handful of men on the top would have killed every assailant. A low ridge connects the two Kallingers: the surface of the smaller hill slopes towards the larger, and is therefore commanded by the plunging fire the latter could direct upon it.

The Rajah met our party; he had come from a distance, and pitched his camp close to ours. In the evening, the Commander-in-chief returned his visit. The Rajah's tent was a large oblong enclosure, of striped and coloured cotton cloth, drawn tightly over a framework of bamboos. The chief is by no means a wealthy man, though formerly possessor of Bandah and much of the surrounding country. His revenue is reduced to three lacs annually, which is to furnish forth for a growing-up family of boys and a numerous retinue. His descent is

ancient, but his patrimony was wrested from him by the Mahrattas. His predecessor, by all accounts, was an inhuman beast; he literally cut to pieces one of his women, and hung up her limbs in different parts of the town: her offence was a want of faith.

The camp halted the 1st of February. Soon after daylight, proceeded to ascend the hill at the north shoulder: the way, for it is neither road nor path, is round the brow, over large stones, and up flights of stairs, guarded by gateways, bastioned and loopholed. A wall also runs by the outward side of the steps, though such a defence is scarcely needed. The surface of the hill is almost plain: there are irregularities, particularly at the east end, where the breach was attempted. The faces of the rock all round are escarped to their summits, so as to defy the approach of all animals but birds. From the foot of the escarpe a belt of jungle and brushwood grows, but quite impervious from below; it is of close-tangled prickly bushes, strong, and not easily displaced. There are large and rough blocks of rock, deep holes—all presenting obstacles not to be surmounted.

For ages, Kallinger has been a spot of great sanctity among the Hindoos; and the remains

of sculptured mythology are too numerous to be detailed—some bear the marks of great antiquity. Those relics which I imagine of old date, are parts of temples, friezes, pillars, and entablatures, sculptured into fancy-work and ornament, or pourtraying some passage of the different avatars of Vishnoo. These remains are seen in various buildings, such as tanks and bastions, themselves of ancient erection; and this fact confirms with strong testimony the antiquity assigned to the materials. The Moslems have evinced their fanaticism by mutilating every statue they found, whether the principal deity of the temple or the mere ornamental part of a pillar or doorway. Gigantic sculptures in the rock were ruthlessly deformed, and from their height and colossal proportions, great ingenuity was displayed in effecting the destruction.

Among the curiosities on the summit of the hill, is the Neel Kaunth, or Blue Heaven, a vault; the Puttah Gungah, a stream or spring; Seeta's Stone Couch, and the Mineral Spring. The circuit of the ramparts is between five and six miles; in many parts they are in ruins, immense spaces occurring from the walls and parts underneath giving way. A second gate,

called the Pumah Gate, is opposite to the north one: these two are the only entrances; the breach has been built up. The whole of the Hindoos in camp were upon the hill paying their vows, and making bargains for past, and perhaps future offences. A residence upon the hill is only disliked from the want of society; but three months in the year are said to be unpleasant: the other nine are agreeable and cool: the evenings and nights are always so. The quantity of images, large and small, of exquisite workmanship and proportions, down below, is enormous.

Feb. 2.—To Surha, (eight miles and a quarter,) skirting the range of hills which extend to the eastward, and lead up to the high table-land of Central India. These hills are quite impregnable from thick thorny bushes and broken ground, with huge blocks of rocks strewed in the veriest confusion. All the hills in this part of India are of the same description. Landscapes pretty; fine crops in the vicinity of our camp; morning cool and pleasant.

Feb. 3.—Continued skirting the hills to Ryssen, (eleven miles and a quarter,) over many channels which form water-courses in the rains, but at this time are entirely dry. This village is close to the hills, and there is

much uneven ground about it. Pitched in a fine wood. Here was the first indication of spring in the mangal blossoming: the perfume it exhales is most agreeable; its beauty is equally surpassing. The skeleton of a mud-fort to the left. The varieties of this day's march made it very pleasant; hills, undulating swells, groves of trees, and water-courses. The crops diminished in extensiveness, but the luxuriance of what remained was prodigious.

Feb. 4.—To Bhurtroop (eight miles and a half): again pitched in a fine wood; hills still to our left; many water-courses on the road, which was exceedingly good, but over undulating plains. There are few inhabitants in this part, owing to the soil, which is not available in large quantities for agricultural purposes, there being much rock all about; water is not so abundant, and the crops require constant irrigation. The sun powerful, but the shade of the trees somewhat mitigate his fury.

Feb. 5.—To Seoraweh (ten miles); pleasant march; morning cool, country the same as for days past. The Rajah met his Excellency; he came with a host of obstreperous followers. The camp again had the good fortune to get into a grove: the fields of corn were so thick and close to us as to leave little room for our

cattle. The Rajah is nephew to the ex-Paishwah, Bajee-Row, and has a pension from the Company of eight lacs; he appears a sensible well-bred man, with good state and a multitude of followers. There was formerly a small British force cantoned here; but since the peaceful settlement of the country it has been withdrawn. The Commander-in-chief returned the Rajah's visit, where all things were conducted in a quiet, gentlemanly style.

Feb. 6.—To Nandee-Tova (eleven miles and a quarter). Nothing new; over a flat, thinly-populated, and cultivated country; our course easterly.

Feb. 7.—To Rajahpore (nearly ten miles): pitched in a fine grove of mangoes and mahowahs: from the latter a liquor is expressed of strong intoxicating quality. Same uninteresting scenery as yesterday's march.

Feb. 8.—Crossed the Jumna to Shahpoor (four miles and a quarter). The right bank of the river very high, and consequently difficult to get the cattle on board the boats. The stream here is a noble one; deep, confined within one channel, and of a dark green hue: in crossing, a thirty feet bamboo could not fathom the bottom. I asked a Sepoy which

was the favourite river, well knowing he would say the Ganges: he did so. When it was replied to him that the Ganges was a dirty, muddy river, and the Jumna was beautifully clear, "Yes," he said, "it was true; but Gungah Jee* was the favourite, although the Jumna was her sister. But Gungah was married, and the spouse of Mahadeo: Himmalaya is her parent;—the Yamunah† was still running her career of single blessedness." What a triumph for wedded life! it left bachelorship at a discount. All natives consider the waters of the Ganges to be sweeter and more hallowed than those of any other river. The votary of Brahma, in his extremity, is desirous to be brought to the edge of its sacred stream, there to breathe his last sigh, and to look his last look upon its waves: they are to him either the waters of Immortality in Hope, or the Lethean stream which is to steep the past in forgetfulness. The usual uproar among the men and beasts crossing the river.

Feb. 9.—To Kuralee (seventeen miles): a very long march. A thing not unusual, the Quarter-master-general's folks at fault: we had a notion it was only fourteen, and it

* The usual adjunct.

† The proper pronunciation of the river.

proved to all a dead take-in.* Soil sandy, or light;—crops many, and good order. Pitched in a magnificent tope, or grove. Getting near the end of our land peregrinations.

Feb. 10. — To Lakreegong (sixteen miles nearly): a teasing march. Parts through bare and conker soil; but near the old and new camps a sea of barley and wheat. Many topés towards the latter end. Thank the fates, this is the last march but one! The weather has been too hot for moving out for many days.

* A celebrated General gave out, that the surest method to lose one's way, was to have a guide from the Quarter-master-general's Department. "Flat burglary," as Dog-berry hath it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Magnificent Serai. — Allahabad. — Exaction of Fees. — Priestly Atrocity.—Traditions.—Site of Palibotra.—Mirzapore. — Trimbuck Jee.— Sultanpore. — Benares.—Mr. Brooke.—Leave Benares.—Death of Marquis Cornwallis. —Dinapore.—Patna.—Monghyr.—A Hot Spring.

Feb. 11.—To Allahabad (fifteen miles and three quarters). This is our last march. Found the boats in readiness to convey us down the river to Dacca. The camp was pitched close to the fort, on the bank of the Jumna. Not far from the town we passed through a magnificent serai, in good repair: the four gates are very handsome: the building is one of the best we have seen, and is perfectly secure against all but cannon. A fine large well is outside the eastern gate.

Feb. 12.—Remained at Allahabad. Doorjun Saul, the usurper of Bhurtpore, who has

been confined here since the capture of that place in 1826, paid his respects to the Commander-in-chief. He was plainly clad, and appeared tired of his confinement: his release from it was the main purport of his visit. It is difficult to conceive why he is not let loose, and an earnest thus given of our mercy. We should evince to the natives at large, that we are not influenced by any bugbear of fear to keep in close custody an individual whose power and interest can have no possible weight. Generosity is ever the attribute of noble minds, and apprehension weakens its claims.

Allahabad is situated on the apex of land where the Ganges and Jumna, rushing into each other's bosoms, commingle their waters. The city is distant three miles from the fort; it is a large town, but possesses little commercial importance, inasmuch as Miryapore, a town lower down, draws the whole of the commerce of the Western states to its *entrepôt*. The fort is so close to the point, that its walls on two sides are washed by the rivers; the third, or land face, is well fortified: the shape of it is irregular, but approaching a triangle; it is large, and can hold a considerable garrison. The works are in good order.

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The fort is now used as an arsenal for the Upper Provinces, for which purpose it is admirably adapted, water carriage being close to its walls. There is nothing higher up the country which deserves the name of a fort, if we except the small one of Allyghur. It might not be bad policy to construct one to command the passages of the Sutlege; and as that river presents such an admirable line of defence naturally, a fortress of any size would, in addition, combine to stop an invading army, which could never dare to leave so formidable a work behind it. Neither Delhi nor Agra would stand an hour before a battery of eighteen pounders.

Allahabad, so named by the Moslem, but Prăg by the Hindoos, is one of the holiest places in India, from being consecrated by the superstition of the people as the immediate spot of some of the incarnations of their Supreme; and also, from the junction of two of the most sacred rivers, which here unite their waters. Gungah or Ganges, being the spouse of Mahadeo, possesses, as has been stated, a higher fame than her sister, who, from the circumstance of the two rivers not commingling till a long way below the fort, is supposed to continue single till lost in the sea: the line of separa-

tion is distinctly visible. On the spot where the waters first unite, it is incumbent on every Hindoo to bathe, if he desires regeneration, and freedom from transformation to some horrid shape, after quitting this life. Nor can he perform this act of religious duty without first paying a tax to the English government! Let it be believed or not, such is the fact; and, whatever may be the plea, whether of profit, or of having been a custom of the heathen, it must meet with the indignant and just condemnation of every liberal man. This fee is proportioned to the pilgrim's estate and appearance; thus realizing the scriptural phrase, that "It is more difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven," &c. &c. A foot pilgrim is charged about four rupees; a horseman, so much more; he with a palankeen, an advanced price; but the pious votary who comes on a pilgrimage riding upon an elephant and being a man of authority, finds it necessary to open his bags; but this is merely for permission to pass the barrier, at which is stationed a guard of the Company's Sepoys to prevent all unauthorized intrusions.

The officiating Bramins are not a whit less dexterous in squeezing those who come for salvation than the British Government! and

before the pilgrim dips a toe into the waters which are to wash away all his sins, he must pay the priest. When a wealthy native gets into their hands, he mentally and deliberately resolves to "sin no more," because he is made to bleed so freely for his former peccadilloes. A part of the priestly ceremony is putting a wreath of flowers round the suppliant's neck, which is not loosened until the conscience of the Bramin is satisfied. Formerly, wreaths of less fragrance and fragility were in use—nothing less than good rope or iron chain, when, if an extra tug at the *Mammon* unluckily sent the repentant soul to other worlds, the wondering and admiring crowd could only suppose his flight was heavenward, as his aim was virtue and his end was holy. But seriously, the priests of this shrine have not escaped the charge of murdering those who "came to pray;" how true or false the charge is, perhaps is past all cognizance.

In the fort there is a long and thick stone pillar. It has inscriptions in a language wholly unknown, though the configuration of the letters leads one to suppose it of Hindoo work. There is an Arabic inscription on it also. Its origin and history are both fabulous. There is a temple underground in the fort, which must have been formerly in the open air above

ground, but, for reasons connected with the fort, it was required that it should be covered over, though not destroyed. A passage leads down to it by some steps: the way to the idol is by a long stone gallery. The form of the temple is a square, flat roof, and the pillars are at equal distances. Here, again, fiction is at work, and insists that an underground communication exists from this to Delhi and Ogein. Certain it is, there is a passage, which, after a few yards, is blocked up, and there is no advancing beyond it. The Bramin creed also asserts that a third river debouches into the two others, underground; but from whence it takes its rise no mention is made.

Allahabad has been the subject of much discussion among the learned; some asserting, and others controverting, with equal semblance of reason, that it is the ancient city of Palibotra. Many contradictions must be reconciled previous to its being recognized as that town, and many points adverse to the information of Strabo accounted for, before it can be satisfactorily settled. It is not to be denied that it has, in common with many other places of the present day, the same local feature which Strabo mentions as peculiar to Palibotra, as he saw it; but the distances given by

the historian, between the city and the sea, and other cities, which (the former particularly) could not be altered, leave every idea of Allahabad being that celebrated city more than doubtful. Men critical in ancient lore and in Asiatic history, have assigned Palibotra a situation lower down the river, near Patna. The features of the country arising from the courses of the rivers changing, have suffered less interference of this sort near Allahabad, than in other parts of the country through which the Ganges flows, the nature of the soil continuing the stream within its old banks. Palibotra is placed at the junction of another large river and the Ganges; but, if this were alone to determine the site, the Soane and the Gogra would dispute the palm, as well as the Jumna. In all but the distance from the sea, the Grecian has made himself very obscure; but is it not possible he may have made a mistake on this point? for, setting aside the faith which is placed in this stated distance, Allahabad, for many reasons, seems the most likely site possible for Palibotra to have occupied. But then Hindoo history is quite dumb upon the matter, and almost even on the name; at least it is very vague in its information upon that city and its concerns.

Feb. 13.—Left Allahabad: a large fleet; the wind adverse, when the concomitants of a river voyage started to life. A few turns round and round a lee-shore brought many boats up; heavy rain all night.

Feb. 14.—Little way to-day. The country flooded with yesterday's rain; wind still adverse.

Feb. 15.—Fair wind; reached Mirzapore by the evening. This is a large commercial town on the right bank of the Ganges; all the productions of the westward pass through it; it is therefore a wealthy place. Cotton is the staple article, of which great quantities are raised in Bundlekhund. The town is on a high bank, overlooking the river; the bank down to the river is ornamented with ghauts, or bathing-places, and temples dedicated to India's million gods. All these have been built by the piety or repentance of wealthy Hindoos: some of them are handsome buildings, and have a very picturesque appearance when sailing past them. The river winds greatly above and below this town, and the stream being confined to a narrow space is in consequence deep. Mirzapore is a civil and military station. There are also many European traders resident in the town and its environs.

Feb. 16.—Fine wind all day. At 1 P.M.

made Cheenar fort, on the right bank; it is situated on the last hill of several ranges, which extend thus far from the westward. It overlooks and completely commands the navigation of the river, and was in days of yore an important command, and the source of a large revenue to the person who held it. The fort is small, but, from its situation, strong and commanding. It is the head-quarters of European and native invalids, who form its garrison. It has lately been made a store house for military equipments, and also serves as a place of confinement for state prisoners, or those whom the government dignify as such.

At present, the Mahratta Trimbuck Jee is an inhabitant of the place. He was the person whose intrigues and sinister designs drew ruin on the Paishwah, Bajee Rao. His confinement has continued since 1818, but his term is nearly bounded by the great enemy, Death; his medical attendants declaring he cannot last many months. When we passed, his liver was so much affected as to protrude his side to the size of a half quartern loaf. His state was one of great emaciation, and he was a truly pitiable object. His prayer (and it was unheeded) was to be permitted to die at Benares, but the suspicions of the government are too

lively for this indulgence—no great one. Trimbuck was a wicked monster; but the good accruing from allowing him to go loose, in creating a favourable opinion of British generosity, would more than balance the chance of danger or inconvenience which such a measure might be thought to risk. The boon to an expiring man would, it is conceived, impress the natives with the notions that our mercy was equal to our power, and that generosity was nearly allied to our justice.

A fine extensive view from the ramparts; the works are in excellent order: Benares and its two minarets distinctly seen, although seventeen miles distant. At three o'clock we continued our course down the river, and brought up at Sultanpore, a cantonment for a cavalry regiment, which stands immediately on the left bank: it is an agreeable station, thirteen miles from Benares.

Feb. 17. — His Excellency reviewed the regiment on a fine grassy parade: the morning cold and delightful. Drove into Benares, which is 703 miles from Calcutta by water, 426 by the road.

Feb. 18.—Remained at Benares. This is the principal seat of Hindoo religion and lore, but designated by the natives Cäsi, which it

is termed in all sacred books, or those of history. The town is on the river side, whose waters here possess holiness above all other parts, save at Allahabad.

The town is large, with fine streets, though narrow; the houses are of several stories. Its wealth is great, as its commercial enterprises extend, with punctuality, as far north as Caubul, and all over India. Formerly, as the great fountain of Hindoo learning, it was resorted to by men in the pursuit of science from all parts of the East; but the splendour of its literary renown has been dimmed many years, though its light still glimmers in the socket. The cantonments and houses of the European gentlemen are in-land about three miles and a half.

The most pleasing sight in Benares was the Chief Judge of the Civil and Criminal Court, and Governor-General's Agent, Mr. Brooke, who, during our stay with him, completed sixty years of unbroken residence in India. Though approaching the eightieth year of his age, he bears fewer traces of a residence in India than any man in it; and as regards the non-effect of Indian climate upon an European, he is the most remarkable instance ever known. Active in his exercise—regular, but not abstemious, in

his diet, he enjoys perfect health, unassisted by the aid of medicine; indeed, it is so long since he took physic, that he says he cannot remember the circumstance: his tread is elastic, and no one would suppose him to have passed the sixtieth year of his age, so robust is his frame, and so animated are his health and spirits. The natives regard his person and character with affectionate respect; nor are the feelings of his countrymen less warm towards him; they regard him with equal attachment. Kind and hospitable, his hand is as liberal as the day. To pass Benares, and not pay one's respects to Mr. Brooke, would be an omission unpardonable. The changes which he has seen have been many, and of vital importance to the British interests: the lot to speak of these occurrences falls to few: the ability to impart knowledge of past affairs, from personal experience and participation, is Mr. Brooke's; and to listen to the anecdotes of *sixty years since*, and of periods when British India was in her youth, is most interesting and agreeable.

We could not learn when the city was first denominated Benares, but it has been so for ages. There are few public buildings, except the Moslem mosque: its two minarets command a fine view of the city. There is an

observatory, established by Shah Jehan, but not made use of now: it is a miniature of the one at Delhi. The ghauts, or passages to the river side, are fine. There is a large civil and military society. The government had a mint also, which coined for the Upper Provinces. The heat is great in the summer; but this part of the country enjoys a temperate climate during the winter, when most European fruits and vegetables come to perfection.

Feb. 19.—Yesterday evening took leave of our worthy host, and drove down to the boats; cast loose, and proceeded with the stream about thirty miles. We passed the Goomty, so called from its sinuous course, which, issuing from the mountains, passes through part of Rohilkhund, and then washes the city of Lucknow. Its debouche is narrow, and at this time had little water in it. Came to within twelve miles of Ghazepore, having run upwards of fifty miles during the day.

Feb. 20.—Arrived at 9 A. M. at Ghazepore, a station for a King's corps of infantry, and many civil officers. The cantonment is prettily laid out. The climate is good, and the place is much preferred by officers and men of European regiments. A noble monument is here, to the memory of that most amiable man

and upright public officer, the Marquis Cornwallis, who died at this station, on his progress to the Upper Provinces, soon after his return to India in 1805, whither he came, though most unwillingly, at the earnest request of the Court of Directors. The Medusa frigate, which brought his Lordship out, conveyed home the melancholy intelligence of his death. This ship was only nine months from her quitting England to her return; and of these, three were passed in Lacbor.

Feb. 21.—Left Ghazepore, and at noon passed Buxar, a fort on the right bank, and celebrated for a battle fought in its neighbourhood, on the 23d of October 1764, between the English and Moslems. This district of Ghazepore is appropriated to the breeding of horses for the cavalry, and both sides of the river are allotted for the establishments. Every year drafts are sent to the different corps, and the undersized are taken to Calcutta to be sold: they prove good cattle for harness; they are generally slight-limbed, but strong and active. A good day's work brought us to Serampoor, on the left bank.

Feb. 22.— Left at daylight; at ten passed the Carramnassa river, which enters the Ganges on its right bank. This river is accounted un-

holy, and no Hindoo will wet his feet in its waters. For accommodation, a rope bridge is thrown over, not far from its mouth. Continued our voyage all day. At sunset passed the Gogra, a large stream entering on the Ganges' left bank: it adds a large body of water to the latter. Came-to at Revelgunge, on the left bank: quite dark, and the whole fleet in utter confusion astern, pushing on as if the demon of restlessness had kicked us into motion.

Feb. 23.—Quitted at dawn: passed the Soane to the right, which contributes its flood to aggrandize the Ganges. Some authors contend that Palibotra is more likely to have been here, than at Allahabad. The Soane rises in latitude 23 and longitude 82, almost close to the head of the Nerbuddah, which falls into the sea on the Bombay coast.

A strong wind at north-east all day; got to Dinapore by 4 P.M. This is a large military station, and one of the divisions of the army; the barracks are spacious and convenient. The climate is not considered healthy, nor is the station thought to be a pleasant one; and being a half batta cantonment, it is abhorred in consequence. The fleet stayed here the 24th, and on the 25th proceeded to Patna. Deegah Farm, held by a Mr. Havell, three miles on

the road, is one of the most interesting sights possible. The establishment embraces all things connected with provisions; and for extent, variety, system, cleanliness, and neatness, it surpasses all others in the country. Baking, gardening, and curing in all its branches. The apartments and furniture are without speck or stain: the gardens are quite beautiful, and invite a stroll among them. Every thing is of the best description, but high-priced: this is not the fault of the proprietor, who, to make both ends meet, is obliged to make his charges pay for bad customers. The Government derived great assistance from the establishment during the Nepal and Goorcha wars, when it afforded large supplies of provisions to the European troops.

Patna is a large city, with extensive commerce in grain and cloths. Its district grows the best opium in India, which the government monopolize. It has a large civil establishment. Near it is a monument of the wit of an engineer officer. He planned and built a gola, or round building, to hold grain for the town in the event of scarcity. It was the means of giving him a large sum of money while superintending it, and held, when finished, *fourteen* days' consumption only! To mend

the matter, he contrived the door to open at the bottom on the inside, so that when the reservoir was full, it was obliged to be emptied from the top at which it was filled: a staircase leads up to its summit. The town is called by the Moslems Azeemabad; it runs by the river side nearly four miles. Some assert it to be Palibotra; and to make it agree with Strabo's account, suppose the river Soane to have changed its debouche: a circumstance by no means of unlikely occurrence. Its distance from the sea agrees with that ascribed to Palibotra by the historian.

Feb. 26.—Left at daybreak, and got halfway to Monghyr: fine breeze and cool all day.

Feb. 27.—Came to Monghyr by 3 P.M.; all day fine cool wind, and fair. Monghyr is an old fort, but quite neglected since the English extended their rule northward and westward. It is large, and is situated on a piece of ground forming nearly a peninsula: the neck of land was formerly defended by a wall across. In days past it was the seat of a Sabahdar, or Provincial Governor, and, being on the brink of the river, completely commanded its navigation. The fort is now the depôt for European and native invalids and cases of insanity. The

air is salubrious, and, judging from instances of longevity among the European pensioners, it must really be so; for in despite of the vicissitudes of changes and perhaps irregularities of living, one officer died some short time ago aged 105, and there is now living one Ensign Graham, who has seen his ninety-third year; sixty of these he has been at Monghyr alone.

In the vicinity, about four miles distant, is a hot spring, called by the natives Seeta Khoond, which indeed is the general designation of all hot springs. The mythological tradition attached to it is Hindoo; it may, however, be as correctly declared to be Grecian. The goddess Seeta was pursued by a giant; dreading his violence, and seeing no other way of escape, she took refuge underground, and from her body the hot spring proceeds.

Behind Monghyr are ranges of hills, which give a pretty effect to the scenery; much jungle between them and the fort. Some dangerous rocks are in the middle of the stream above the fort; upon them are white pillars, to warn approaching boats: these rocks are nearly covered in the rains. Parts of the works in the fort are on rocks. The scenery to the hot spring and the meadow into which it runs is very pretty. What adds to the curiosity is

the immediate proximity of a cold spring to the hot one, and both take their course into the meadow. The hot spring runs far before its waters lose their heat; they are clear, and, when cool, delicious for drinking.

The hot spring is enclosed in a brick building about sixteen feet square: the temperature is usually 138°; in the cold weather it is something less. The body of the water is four feet deep, and the spring copious enough to form a fast-running stream. Troops of washer-men have established themselves on its margin, to save firewood. The water has no salt or lime, and only carbonic gas. The place is one of pilgrimage, and many accidents have happened to the foremost, who have been pushed in by those behind: they were invariably killed. A short time ago an unlucky pony fell into the reservoir, and was scalded to death. There are mineral springs eight miles from the Seeta Khoond. The hills are a continuation of the Banglepore range, and skirt the river, but at a distance; their height perhaps is 2000 to 2500 feet.

CHAPTER IX.

Jehangeer Rocks.—The Third Buffs.—Mr. Cleaveland.—Rajmahal.—The Moslem Power.—Bogwongolah.—The Jelinghy River.—Dacca.—Cultivation of Indigo.—State of the Chiefs.—Mohammedan Remains.—Chittagong Mountains.—The Town.—Natural Mounds.—Arracan Mountains.—Akyab.—Arracan Grain.—Fatal Expedition. A new Harbour.

Feb. 28.—Left Monghyr at dawn; fifteen miles below, came to the Jehangeer Rocks, abrupt pieces rising out of the bed of the river; they are the residence of one or two religious mendicants, or Fakirs, who take care of some small temples erected to Mahadeo on their summits. At 4 P. M. arrived at Boglepore.

Hills in view all the way; they extend below Rajmahal, and far inland. They are inhabited by a race of people of whom much information is given in the Asiatic Researches: they are small in stature, very black, and are

exceedingly superstitious: by learned men they are supposed to be descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of India, or at least of these parts. Beautiful landscape at sunset, the wide and placid Ganges forming the fore-ground, the hills behind; the sun greeting the surface of the river with his last kiss; while a light fishing-canoe gliding on the unrippled mirror, just gave animation to the scene.

March 1.—Saw the 3rd Buffs, who have but lately arrived from New South Wales. Boglepore has not long been a station for an European corps, and the present one is obliged to inhabit the stables of a regiment of cavalry which used to be quartered here. When the Buffs first came, the officers were compelled to rough it, and now are only beginning to have their houses ready: the men are miserably housed, particularly in the hot weather, and the rains are fast approaching, when they will require better quarters. The cantonment is beautifully placed on the right bank of the river, which is very high: owing to the station being so favoured by its position, it escapes much of the hot winds, and has less of the heated damp than lower down in Bengal. The scenery is more agreeable to

European taste, and the rides and drives are prettily diversified. A fine turf-plain forms the parade-ground, spacious enough for the manœuvring of a brigade.

The barracks, or rather the stables, are judiciously disposed. A corps, formed from the inhabitants of the hills, is stationed at the town, four miles off; but we did not see it. The advantage from the good policy of employing those in our service who were to prior governments a source of loss and annoyance, is very great; the system, if not begun, was undeviatingly followed by the noble Hastings. These men make good soldiers for the purposes required,—their duties are only in the province: it serves to bring the hill-people and the lowlanders in friendly contact, by which it is hoped both will derive benefit.

The monument of Mr. Cleaveland, formerly the Government Agent for this district, is erected at Boglepore: the natives, to commemorate his worth and virtues, and to mark their veneration and respect, reared the pile. His incessant and successful efforts to promote civilization among the hill-people gave joy to his philanthropic spirit, which stayed its departure until he saw the good

seeds he had planted begin to yield a harvest. A memoir of this excellent man is given in the Asiatic Researches.

Left at 10 A.M., and got to Puttergautty, a village below Colgong. The rocks at this latter place are huge masses rising perhaps 150 feet from the middle of the river: they have some religious edifices upon them, and are thickly set with stunted prickly trees. Some small rocky hills close to the left bank of the river appear to have turned its course.

March 2.—Sailed by Seerigully, a pass between the larger of the hills and the river: the distance between the two is very small. A bungalow is here for the accommodation of travellers: a small hill close to it has the tomb of a Moslem chief of ancient date upon its peak. All around is alive with game, tigers, rhinoceroses, hogs, &c.: the islands in the river abound with quail and partridge. Came-to within fifteen miles of Rajmahal: at midnight a north-wester came on, but it was not accompanied by the usual violence and danger.

March 3.—Off at midnight: passed, at 8 A.M. Rajmahal. The ruins of the old Moslem fort have fallen into the stream. For-

merly, as the capital of Bengal, the city enjoyed great prosperity, and had its palaces and halls; it is now little else but a mere fishing-village. Such constant proofs of the evanescent nature of the grandeur and power of man are plentiful in the East.

A mile above the old fort a large rock juts out into the river, on which the minarets of a mosque just emerge from the brambles grown up, giving a character to the desolation of the place. The wane of the power of the Crescent in the East seems to have been but a prelude to that also in the West. There are to some spirits few things which incline them more to reflection than overthrown edifices and the mouldering ruins of what was once splendid and great. There is something irresistibly interesting in the rise, progress, and decline of the Moslem, who, with all the violence of unchecked conquest, and the fanaticism and bigotry of his creed, has done somewhat for science, which, but for his aid, might have expired. The Moslem of the East is not the warring adversary of intellect and the arts, her handmaids, as is his brother of the West. Science, though limited to astronomy, or its degenerate substitute astrology, physic, literature,

and architecture, amply bespeak the Eastern Mohammedans to have advanced in the march of intellect; but little as the advance may be considered, it cannot be denied, to their honour, that it makes them superior to others of their false faith.

Arrived opposite the highest mouth of the Baugrutty, which may be twenty-five miles above Bogwongolah.

March 4.—Arrived at Bogwongolah by 11 A.M. This is a custom-house, on the east-side of the Cossimbazar Island; it is placed here in consequence of the navigation of the Baugrutty being shut up at this period: Bogwongolah is the *entrepôt* for the commerce of Moorshedabad, distant twenty miles. The village consists of huts, made of bamboo and thatch, and these are removed just before the rains, which flood this part of the island. The river also overflows the site of the village. The inhabitants remove in May, and return on the subsiding of the waters in October. We found a host of country craft, which, according to custom, were turned out to make room for our fleet. The dispersion was a great inconvenience to the unfortunate people: the noise and confusion accompanying their flight was prodigious: the damage, too, was considerable;

the river being rapid, and the boats unwieldy and unmanageable, they knocked their heads and tails together till all cracked again.

March 5.—Little wind to-day; got down to within four miles of the Jelinghy river, to the right, which runs for forty miles, and then joins the Baugrutty, both these forming the island of Cossimbazar. Weather very hot, particularly at the close of the day.

March 6.—Passed the Jelinghy at half-past six; here some of the fleet left us for Calcutta. It is seldom that this river is closed to vessels drawing three feet of water, and it is, in consequence, much frequented. Hot weather, and no wind all day; progress slow; the river banks quite beautiful. Fishermen in very delicately-formed boats in great numbers; fishing appears to be the great occupation of all those who reside in villages near the river.

March 7.—Continued our course at dawn; at nine passed Custee, and, a little before noon, entered the Pubna river, a pretty little stream, varying from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty yards across; the banks high, but unbroken; the water deep, the current slow. Villages very numerous, and fishermen in all directions. This part of the country is largely cultivated with indigo, and many factories are in this

neighbourhood. Came-to about ten miles from Pubna.

March 8.—Continued in the Pubna river till twelve o'clock, when the fleet struck into another branch, and away we all went over the country, all the maps being at fault. Since those of Rennell were published, thirty years ago, the rivers and nullahs have changed their courses. Came-to at the debouche of a creek which leads into the Oora Săgur river.

March 9.—Left at daylight, and continued on till dark: the fleet came-to at Gualparah: strictly speaking, we sailed over the village. Only three years ago the village was washed away; the inhabitants divided themselves, and have built houses on opposite sides of the river. Fine wind, and fair most of the day.

March 10.—Furious hot day; got within eight miles of Dacca.

March 11.—Reached Dacca by 7 A.M., where we stayed till daylight on the 14th.

Dacca is a Moslem city, and the capital of this the most eastern part of India. It was secondary only to Moorshedabad, but, agreeably to the practice of the times, its governors confirmed themselves as hereditary princes. This soubah, or province, is fertile, being intersected with innumerable rivers. The climate, though

hot almost beyond sufferance, is considered healthy ; there are large tracts of jungle, however, which must do away with such a favourable opinion of the salubrity in general. The dampness at night from dews, equals the effect of heavy showers of rain ; the air is also extremely chilly ; exposure at this time assures the visit of a fever.

But, in despite of the heat in the day, and the damp cold at night, Dacca is liked by those who are attached to sporting. Elephants, tigers, hogs, and various kinds of deer are close to the city, and the chase of them is followed with ardour. This is a great district for indigo cultivators, and large tracts of land have been within a few years devoted to growing that plant. It may account for so many pursuing this profession, that it has all the uncertainty of a lottery : a good season will yield treble and quadruple the expenses incurred, supposing the establishment free from incumbrances at the outset of the season ; while, from unfavourable circumstances, as the want of rain, or too much of it, the grower cannot realize a single shilling.

Dacca formerly enjoyed great trade inland, and with the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. It was celebrated for the skill of its manu-

facturers of muslin, and also for their numbers. Now, it is a fact, and a lamentable one for the place, that there was at the time of our visit only *one* fabricator of the once famed muslin in the town. Grain and salt are the principal articles of commerce, the indigo being chiefly in the hands of Europeans.

The descendants of the former chiefs still reside at Dacca; they are provided with a scanty pittance by the Government, barely sufficient for common demands. It should be noticed that a native of high rank does not live for himself alone: he has always a horde of poor relations, servants, or dependants, who look up to him for protection and for food, and which, as they were his followers in prosperity, he has neither the wish nor the meanness to deny in adversity, as far as his means will allow. Thus, what will appear to European notions a large income for a single person, is, for an Indian of rank, but just sufficient to keep body and soul together—and it is these men, whose ancestors were lords of the country, who are compelled to subsist on the pittance a "liberal" parsimony affords.

The Nawaub, as he is styled, is, for a native, an extraordinary man, being conversant, in an eminent degree, with European literature.

He has acquired a knowledge of the classics, seldom if ever attained by a Hindoostani. His mind has enlarged itself by his intercourse with the English; he has cast aside the fetters which, forged by ignorance, still bind the mass of his creed and countrymen; he has not suffered the bigotry of his faith, intolerant in one and all things, to shut his eyes to our pre-eminence in the arts and sciences, or to deny him the knowledge, that to national character for liberality in religion, faith to our word, and impartial justice to all, we owe the superiority we possess in the land of his forefathers.

There are some remains of Mohammedan grandeur in the ruins of palaces and mosques; they are, however, of no ancient date, and are fast crumbling to mere mounds of brick. The dampness of the climate, the astonishing quickness of vegetation, and its destructive influence as soon as it appears in a chink or crevice, are not long in rending the most massive architecture from the summit to the foundation; the rains then prostrate the fabric, and so perishes what was once the pride of the architect.

Dacca is on the left bank of the Boovah Gungah, a branch from the Burrampooter. It is a large civil station, having a court of assize and appeal: the military consists of one infan-

try corps, a provincial battalion, and a detachment of Native Artillery.

March 14.—Quitted at daylight, and dropped down the river. At noon, passed Narrain Gunge, which may be termed the seaport of Dacca; vessels of 200 tons being able to come thus far. Here the river widens much, but to avoid sand-banks, the fleet, now reduced to four pinnaces, (all the rest being ordered to Calcutta,) took a course through a narrow but deep channel to the right: at dark, the headmost of the Calcutta division came in sight astern.

March 15.—Parted with the other folks, who proceed through the Sunderbunds, we continuing on to Chittagong. The river here expands into a sea. Weather hot. Continued against head-wind, between the islands of Sundeep and Hutteah and the main land, until the 19th, when we got sight of the Chittagong mountains, which run to the north of that station. These islands are alluvial, and are the growth of ages, produced by the *débris* of the river issuing at its numerous mouths. They are of considerable extent; but, from a paucity of fresh water, the number of the inhabitants is limited, as is cultivation. Sundeep is the farthest from Dacca.

We were employed in tacking and anchoring during the flood-tides, between Sundeep and the main land, until the afternoon of the 20th March, when we were glad enough to enter the Chittagong river; and next day at dawn, we found ourselves opposite the town of Chittagong, about eleven miles from its mouth. *Mugs* and Portuguese are the principal inhabitants of the town: the former have the Malay features; they are neither Hindoos nor Mohammedans, nor is it quite known what they profess to be: they have not the prejudices of either of the above sects, and are quiet, industrious people. Their notions of the Supreme, and their observances in his honour, are gross. They originally came from Arracan and its dependencies, in which there are still great numbers of their tribe or caste.

Chittagong was, until the Burman war, the farthest station of the India Company south-east; though there were detachments, and *small ones* to the *cost* of the government, farther down the coast. It was the discomfiture of these small parties which emboldened the Burmese to continue their aggressions; but the worst part was, the sacrifice of as gallant a body of officers and Sepoys as were in the army. The scene of immolation was a place

called Ramoo; and, for the devotedness of its heroes, might have vied with Thermopylæ, had it had *its* cause.

All around Chittagong is jungle, spread over undulating surfaces, stretching as far as the eye can reach. The houses of the European gentry of the civil and military services, are upon detached hills, just large enough for the purpose; some of them are a hundred feet high. These mounds are natural, water having formed the channels between them: they appear to be a hard, sandy soil, but easily destroyed. The air is cooler and freer on the tops of these hills; but for exercise, the roads, which are narrow and confined, must be resorted to. On either side is jungle, or cultivation.

Salt and rice are the staple commodities of Chittagong. The salt-works are on the banks of the river, near its mouth, and are simple enough. The article is produced by boiling the brine collected from the overflowing of the river, in large, flat surfaces, prepared on the ground. Hot wells are in the vicinity, to the northward, by the name of Seeta Khoond. There is one where the water will ignite at its surface; at least, the gas which it discharges will burn continually. These are greatly revered

by the natives, and resorted to on various occasions.

The weather very hot and muggy; the dews at night come down like rains; every thing outside completely drenched. Continued here until the 24th at noon, when we embarked in the pilot brig Mermaid, and were taken in tow by the steamer Ganges, both of which vessels had been sent to wait our arrival. At four, anchored at the mouth of the river.

March 25.—Weighed from the bar of the river, and proceeded in tow of the steamer: wind ahead, and tolerably strong: skirted the shore, at the distance of twenty miles: low land to-day. The 26th we saw the Arracan mountains, which serve as the boundary to that kingdom and the Burmese, over which a British detachment, during the late war, in vain sought for a passage; but one was found, and marched over, at the termination of hostilities, by a small party of Sepoys. The knowledge of this route would have been of the greatest consequence, as it afforded the means of entering the enemy's country nearer his capital; and also of turning his flank, and cutting him off from any communication with the city.

At 10 A. M. 28th, anchored in Akyab har-

bour. This is a large bay, with deep water in parts, and safe from all winds. The entrance is by a narrow passage, through locks. At the farther end the Arracan river disembogues itself; and fifty miles upwards, the city of Arracan stands on its left bank. To the left (and north) on entering, is the low island of Akyab, on which the British establishment is fixed. To the right, on entering, is a high island, between which and the main land a passage for large boats is at all times open and safe: to the southward, the scenery is particularly pleasing.

Akyab is considered healthy, and not subject to hot winds. The heat of mid-day is tempered by a refreshing sea-breeze from the south-west. The day we passed was oppressively hot, from the want of wind; but we were assured it was a singular occurrence. The community has decreased of late at this place, owing to the establishment of another post lower down the coast, and the reduction of several offices now considered useless. Akyab, from its localities, must continue to be the chief station, as far as the government of the country is concerned. The expenses are at present more than the receipts; but there are fair expectations entertained that they will

equal all demands, and that the infant state will require no aid from Bengal.

The country is not so thoroughly settled from its recent disorganized state, as it will be in a year or two; for men's minds were not made up as to the intentions of the British either retaining or giving up the possession to the descendants of its former rulers, previous to the Burmese seizing the country. That the British should not relinquish Arracan is desirable. The demand for its grain is advancing every season, and being a populous country, another outlet presents itself for English manufactures: the grain is raised with more facility and less expense than in any part of Hindoostan, and is exported in large quantities to Bengal and Madras.

The houses of the Europeans are all built upon poles; a precaution adopted from the natives. Floods are frequent, and the nature of the soil is damp: this mode has health and comfort for its object. Like Chittagong and Dacca, the dews are heavy; and hence originates the chilliness of the nights, when the land-wind blows.

The Commissioner for the province, his assistant, five companies of Sepoys, the Mug levy, (who will soon make good soldiers,) form

the military force of this station. The Commissioner's duties are multifarious — political, military, judicial, and fiscal. A late expedition into the interior, in pursuit of a disturber of the peace, had been attacked with sickness; death trod quickly on its heels, and three European officers fell victims. All the others but one were still unable to move from the effects of fever, which, when caught in the jungles, is but another name for death itself; so noxious is the air to European constitutions.

On the 29th, at daylight, weighed from Akyab; a fine breeze, and cool day. Passing close to the island on the right of Akyab bay, put us all into spirits, which suffered somewhat from yesterday's heat. This part of the coast is formed by a succession of numerous islands, having deep water between them: for the most part, they are but thinly peopled; they are wooded from the water's edge to their summits, and are pretty in their scenery.

At sunset entered the harbour of Kyookfyoo, recently selected for a military post, in preference to Sandoway, farther to the southward, which until lately has been the principal one, the latter not being centrical or convenient enough. This harbour is formed by the north end of Ramree Island and other islands

to the eastward: it is capacious, with good anchorage, and is secure from every wind: the rise and fall of the tides are scarcely perceptible, and ships can lie within two hundred yards of the shore, which all around is a beautiful sandy beach, with scarcely any surf.

The spot selected for the town and cantonments is very good, with the exception that it could be wished a nearer approach to the outside of the island had been made, to have allowed a free circulation to the south-west monsoon, from which the station is greatly shut out. Too much care has been taken to have the town and cantonments near the shipping, which, though desirable for many reasons, yet ought to have yielded to the health and comfort of the troops.

The work of clearing the land and building barracks, or huts, for the Sepoys, was going on quickly. Fish abound, and the people of the neighbouring hills bring in fruit and fowls; but these are to be had occasionally only: it is to be hoped a market will be established, and a regular supply brought in. All concur in believing the port to be healthy: when cleared of its useless trees, it will possess the characteristics supposed to be favourable to health.

CHAPTER X.

Pooree.—Province of Orissa.—British Conquest.—Fallen Greatness.—Temple of Juggernaut.—Concourse of Pilgrims.—Hindoo Penances.—Government Fees.—Salt-Monopoly.—The Black Pagoda.—Temple of Kanaruck.—Sculpture.—Situation of the Temple.—Curious Tradition.—Chilkah Lake.—Character of the People.

LEFT Kyook-fyoo at daylight on the 31st of March: for five days, calms and light airs, succeeded by a brisk westerly wind. April 10, sighted the Black Pagoda and Juggernaut; on the 11th, at noon, had the good luck to land, heartily tired of our cruise.

Pooree, the town of the celebrated Temple of Juggernaut, is situated on a deep sandy flat, which almost surrounds it, and is about a mile and a half from the sea. The houses inhabited by the European officers of the station, and others who frequent Pooree in

the hot weather, stand parallel to the sea, and from three to four hundred yards from it.

Orissa is the name of the province: its history, as also that of the idol and the temple, has been largely treated by Mr. Stirling, a civil servant of the Government, in the 15th volume of the Asiatic Researches. The dynasty of its ancient sovereigns has been preserved through many ages to the present time: history, or rather tradition, points them out to be one of the four great clans which existed when the great continent of India was under the rule of one supreme head. The Orissa princes are descended from the Chief who was styled Gujpeetti, that is, Lord of the Elephants.

It is not intended here to relate the history of the kingdom, which, when free from foreign invasion, extended its bounds as far as Hooghly on the north, and to the southward claimed the large city of Rajmundry to be within its limits: its breadth, bounded by the hills to the westward, varied, but seldom exceeded forty miles; in length, when at its zenith of power, it was upwards of three hundred. Little authentic intelligence is to be relied on prior to the period when the Mohammedans cast their eyes towards Orissa; in these

early conflicts, its fortunes waned before those of the Moguls, who erected, upon the overthrow of the kingdom, a Soubahship, and annexed it to the empire. Subsequently, during the eighteenth century, it was overrun by the Mahrattas, plundered, and ruined: in this state it was found in 1803, when the British troops took possession of the province, after some ineffectual opposition on the part of the Rajah, who endeavoured to restore the ancient power of his house. The British troops took forcible possession of the country, and placed the person of the Rajah under restraint, but apportioned an allowance for his subsistence. The historian above quoted says, "The *liberal* policy of the Government has conferred on him (the Rajah) a *sufficient* pension, and an office of authority connected with the temple, in the *enjoyment* of which they (he) pass their days in tranquil and *honourable* retirement."

It is fitting that the historian's notions of the *otium cum dignitate* of the Rajah should be contrasted with the reality. First, then, the pension is a small one, it is believed not above 2000 rupees a month, and a small allotment of land: the office of *authority* was that of being privileged to sweep the platform of the idol when it appeared abroad on its fes-

tival days, but which, in fact, consisted in waving a chowree, or tail of the Thibet cow, before it. This office belonged to his ancestors, and was held by each succeeding Rajah ages before the Honourable East India Company came into being; and as it carried with it something of a character pertaining to religious, the Government of the time made a merit of confirming the Rajah in his office, when, doubtless, it was its best policy so to do.

Soon after our arrival the Rajah came to pay his respects to the Commander-in-chief. He is a young man, perhaps thirty, but so excessively stupid in appearance and reality, as to make it very difficult to understand or to be understood by him. He came attended by a train unlike that of his ancestors, with their elephants, their chariots, and their horsemen; on this occasion one meagre elephant, and an ill-conditioned horse, surrounded by a couple of dozen of naked attendants, composed the Rajah's *cortège* —he himself came in a sorry palankeen; a few pikes were the only arms; a banner, carried by the elephant, drooped, as if mourning the fallen fortunes of its chiefs; and one solitary drum moaned out a melancholy sound, as if in mockery of the present attempt at pomp, in imita-

tion of the greatness which had been in times past. Without exception, this was the completest picture of fallen greatness in its extremest misery we had yet seen, though the instances in the Upper Provinces were not few. "Thanks be to Sultan Mahmoud," so says the Eastern allegory, "we shall never want ruined cities as long as he continues to rule over us."

The Rajah during his visit, urged the never and ever failing topic of his desire to have his rights restored to him. It was whispered to his agent, who accompanied him, that he must know whether or not he could prevent the surf of the sea roaring by merely bidding it to cease. The man acknowledged the figurative allusion, and smiled, but with the hopelessness of one who knows there was no hope for his wishes. Fortunately for the Rajah, his misfortunes have met with the humane consideration of the British Commissioner of the province, who, as far as he is able, alleviates the disagreeable situation of the chief and his family by his kind attentions; nor is the Collector behind in doing whatever lies within his power to make him contented with his lot. The Rajah will be fortunate if the successors of these gentlemen are as generously considerate.

The temple of Juggernaut, erected at the close of the twelfth century, has been so often noticed by travellers and residents at Pooree, that it may suffice merely to give a cursory glance at the outside, which is all that is to be seen by any, save the Bramins belonging to it. Only one European has had, what by a traveller may fairly be termed the good fortune, to effect an entrance into its sacred and mysterious precincts, and this was a matter of such enterprise, not to say danger, had he been discovered, that a slight notice of it may perhaps be pardoned.

An officer, it is believed of the name of Carter, formed a wish to enter the temple at the period of the great festival: he gained the connivance and assistance of some of the Sepoys of his corps, by whom he was greatly beloved: they painted him with the distinguishing marks of their caste, arrayed him in proper garments, and, for protection, took him in the midst of them; he underwent the ceremonies prescribed, and came out safely. He stated that he saw nothing but large courts and apartments for the priests, and could only catch a glimpse of the idol at a distance.

The circumstance of his admission came to the knowledge of the Bramins, who imme-

diately declared that the impiety would be visited by Juggernaut's indignation. Unluckily, the officer came back to Pooree with his corps, some years afterwards, and there died, and thus, to all men's minds, was accomplished the Braminical prediction. Had the poor man taken up his abode in the garden of Eden, he could scarcely have escaped the general doom. This was suggested to the head priest, who shook his head as if dubious of the notion.

The temple is enclosed by a high stone-wall, square, about 250 yards each way; gates are in the middle of each face, which look to the cardinal points. The eastern, or lion door, is the principal entrance, and is guarded by two stone animals, which the most depraved imagination has denominated lions; but they are as like whales as they are to that noble animal. The gateways all rise in a pyramidal shape, with rude sculpture, and the portraiture of hideous figures. On looking through the eastern gate, the entrance for pilgrims, the only thing to be seen is a broad flight of steps, which lead to the temple. A handsome black stone pillar, the shaft of one piece and twenty-five feet long, stands immediately before the entrance. It was brought by a pious votary sixty years ago from the Black Pagoda; it is

one of the most chaste and elegant pieces of art I ever saw, equal in design and proportion to any pillar of the Corinthian order.

The grand temple in which the idols are lodged is a very high tower in the middle of the square: from its great elevation it forms a conspicuous land-mark to the sailor coming from different parts of the world. Its form is square for the distance of two-thirds; from thence it decreases by a slight curve to the top, thus it follows the usual configuration of Hindoo temples; it is also fluted in this part. On the top of this is a large circular flat black stone, cut like a melon. On the summit of this stone is the Chucker, or wheel—the distinguishing symbol of Vishnu, and precisely resembling the wheel of a ship's rudder. The whole is surmounted by flags and pennons of the appropriate colours of the god in whose honour they are displayed.

The concourse of pilgrims every year is great, but every third, sixth, and twelfth, (each of progressive and higher sanctity) the numbers increase prodigiously, although the custom is somewhat on the decrease. The common years vary from 33 to 70,000. In one year, which was a twelfth, the numbers amounted to 131,874, as appears by the Government collector's books; for here, as at other

holy spots, a visit to which is enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos, every one who is supposed to be able must pay for his entrance. The modes are various by which the devotees conceive they render their piety more striking and propitiatory. One is to measure the road from their homes to the temple, by the lengths of their body: this is literally accomplished by laying themselves along the ground; and where their hands extended to, at that spot they stand up, and then lay another length in advance. When it is considered that some of these deluded creatures come five, six, and eight hundred miles, the mind can form some idea of the extraordinary penances which the Indian devotee voluntarily imposes upon himself.

For some days previous to, and during the great festival, every spot and street of Pooree is thronged by myriads. Death works his will among the crowd, aided by sickness and want; but the faith of the pilgrims is so strong, that it rather courts the approaches of the destroyer in such holy precincts, in the believed absorption of their souls into the essence of the Supreme at such a holy place.

Pooree, after the feast, is justly described by an eye-witness to be a golgotha—really, without

metaphor, it is a place of skulls. Between the town and the sea, human bones and skeletons were seen at every step. The scriptural phrase of "Let the dead bury their dead," was brought to mind, for, except in the maws of dogs, kites, and jackals, the dead here have no sepulchre: the sickening disgust produced by the frequent sights of mangled corses, or of voracious animals contending for their horrid food, is beyond recital.

The Government derive a revenue from the visits of pilgrims, which amounts to 50,000 rupees a-year clear. For the support of the temple it allows 40,000 rupees annually, and has allotted land to the value of 16,000 more. By taking an active part in support, where, if it did not rather discountenance, it ought to remain a neutral spectator, it gives an importance to the subject which otherwise it would not boast. Let it interpose to maintain order and peace, but interfere no farther. This is the opinion of the gentlemen whose work has been quoted, and who himself is a responsible servant of Government.

The country round Pooree is poor, principally heavy sand, a broad belt of which runs the whole length of the coast, perhaps from

two to three miles in breadth. The grain of the province is rice, the lands, which are overflooded most of the year, being favourable for its production. Salt is the staple commodity, and, if permitted, sufficient could be made to supply the whole of India; but the Government, which monopolizes the sale of this indispensable article, prevents more than a given quantity being made, in order to realize a certain sum. The salt is procured in two ways, by boiling the brine, or by the process of evaporation. The low flat lands surrounding the Chilkah Lake, twenty-one miles to the south of Pooree, are admirably adapted for the purpose, the tide rising and falling so small a degree. The boiled salt is the best; the cost of it when landed at Calcutta is about 1*s.* 4*d.* for 80 lbs. weight, and it is sold by the Government to the wholesale speculator at 8*s.* That which is collected by evaporation, is landed in Calcutta for about 7*d.* per 80 lbs. and is sold by the Government for 6*s.* 6*d.* or 7*s.* It is always sold by auction, and, true to the governing principle, it goes through the grinding of another monopolization before they for whose use it is prepared can manage to purchase it: the price of 80 lbs., when disposed of by the retail shopkeeper, varies from 10*s.* to 14*s.*

The Black Pagoda, as it is called by Europeans, stands about seventeen miles to the north of Juggernaut. In its ancient days of celebrity, it was designated the Temple of the Sun, and was dedicated to his worship under his title of Suriya. The temple has been deserted a long time, and some parts of it are quite gone to decay. It is of far earlier date than Juggernaut. According to Mr. Stirling, who has written largely upon these remains of antiquity, it was erected in 1241, a period long subsequent, from all appearances, to the real one. It is stated to have cost the revenues of twelve years; but this, and all matters connected with his History of Orissa, was obtained from the priests ministrant at Juggernaut, and old documents stated by them to be authentic records of past events. It does not appear that he betrayed any scepticism upon the authorities thus avouched; although it is but fair to suppose that every endeavour would be made to acquire for the present favourite establishment every credit and repute at the expense of its less fortunate neighbour. Where, however, he met with undoubted fable or monstrous miracle, he most laudably and unhesitatingly rejected both. On the score of the cost of the temple, he merely gives the statement

of what was told to Abul Fazel, Acbar's minister, and, for himself, supposes, naturally enough, that the cost was a very great one.

The temple known to the natives by the name Kanaruck, as it is close to two villages so called, was once surrounded for a great distance by court-yards and enclosures; but these have long since disappeared, and are now hidden by the drifting of sand: the temple itself, from being on a mound, will be saved from a similar fate for many years. It was dedicated to Suriya, or the Sun, in consequence of that deity having cured the son of Vishnu of leprosy, with which he was infected, as a punishment for having seen (accidentally) some young ladies of the palace (whose palace is not known) during the operation of bathing: his grateful piety reared the pile.

On a visit made to it during a residence at Pooree, every one was greatly pleased with the sight of such an interesting relic of ancient India. What remains of the temple is the pagoda, or square building, the sides to the cardinal points: the walls are fifty feet high, and of amazing thickness. From thence, upward, the roof is an exact pyramid, on the apex of which are the remains of some symbol of the god. The pyramidal part is divided

into compartments, each overhanging the other, like the roof of a Chinese temple, flat, and decreasing to the top. Not having made use of the turned arch, the roof inside was so constructed, that one stone protruded some distance over the one underneath it; and instead of the key-stone of the arch, huge bars of iron were placed across, to support the ponderous fabric and ornamental part above.

The architect must have been a bad one; for the weight which he threw inside the centre of gravity, was greater than that which ought to have been outside, to preserve all in its proper place; so that when the building was finished, the inside masonry was merely supported by each side of the building pressing equally to the centre. In process of time the building settled, and changed the bearings of pressure, when down came many of the iron bars and huge blocks of masonry, and to this day they lie in a promiscuous heap, just as they fell. Some of the bars are a foot square, and ten or twelve feet long. The pieces of stone are enormous, and create wonder how the people managed to get them up to their former places; for, judging of the tackle used now-a-days, the moderns are wofully behind their forefathers in skill, energy,

and enterprise. There are still a few bars sticking out of the roof; these, with some apparent loose stones, threaten destruction to those whose antiquarian propensities prompt a visit to the inside. Bars of iron are over the passages of the doorways; these are large and thick.

It appears strange that arches were not used for this purpose, as the passages are long, and hard stone abounded. The part still most perfect is the inferior, and is called the Jug Mohun. The sanctuary in which the idol was lodged is almost destroyed; what does remain marks a freak in the operations of time, or whatever is the destroying power. The sanctuary was in the shape of a tall tower, exceeding in height the other part of the temple. From half-way up, it had a slight curvature, and terminated in a point. Only one quarter of this building is still erect; the other three are prostrate in indistinguishable ruin: it seems as if the tower had been divided in half, and then crosswise, cutting it into four pieces. When the three parts fell, it is difficult to account for the fourth retaining its upright position; but the time is not far distant when it will soon follow the others now at its feet. From the altitude of the Black Pagoda, and its

being near the sea, it is a conspicuous landmark for seamen.

The temple is chiefly formed of a stone easily affected by time and the elements, though about the doorways there is a remarkably hard greenish stone used. The eastern, or principal entrance, has had the greatest share of ornamental labour. There is an entablature over this gateway, sculptured in the most excellent manner, both in design and execution. Down the lintels of the doorway the same beauty of workmanship has been executed in thickly studded figures. The outsides of the temple are divided into compartments, in which are figures for the most part unfit for notice. The filthy obscenity which the natives of India have lavished on their temples, is not to be accounted for on any reasonable or probable grounds; by some they have been supposed to be typical of the generating influence of the sun.

The head Gooroo of Juggernaut stated, that these sculptures had no reference to religious ideas, and that they were placed there more, as he conceives, to attract the attention and curiosity of strangers, than for any other purpose;—no great compliment to the *morale* of the people. A farther inquiry upon this sub-

ject would, it may be conceived, throw additional light upon the supposed connexion of the gods of Greece and India, of which there are already so many convincing proofs.

Climbing up the *débris* of the tower, we were enabled to reach to the top of the wall of the temple, where the roof began to take the pyramidal form. On each face were statues of female minstrels, much larger than life, which reminded us of the Apostles on the balustrade of St. Paul's. The workmanship of these figures is most elaborate, as the ornaments peculiar to women, still distinctly visible, testify; these are necklaces, armlets, &c. &c. These figures have curiously fashioned caps, quite at the back of the head, exactly like the back part of a lady's bonnet; and very different from any head-dress of Indian women of the present day.

The cornices and friezes are battle-pieces, in which elephants and men are introduced with great skill and spirit: indeed, the carving and sculpture are such as evince great progress in the decorative branches of these arts; for although the structure of the temple is rude, and owes but little to the assistance of science, yet there is an elegance and finish about the whole; and, with the exception of the pre-

vailing character of indelicacy in the graven parts, they bear out beyond contradiction the advance of the people who reared the temple in what are termed the elegant arts. If any fault can be found superadded to that already mentioned, it may be the too crowded state of the figures; but these are so admirably disposed as easily to find forgiveness for the difference of taste in so long a lapse of time. The temple is at present about two miles from the sea; how distant it was at the time it was built, is now a matter of doubt. It is situated among sand-hills of gently-undulating surface: the greater part of the out-works have long been buried in the sand, and much has been taken away for building-purposes by whoever chose to remove it. The place has been deserted for ages, so much so that a jungle has grown up among the fallen stones, and bears and porcupines make it their habitation. Once upon a time a marauding tiger took up his abode in it, but was soon killed by a party of officers. Gigantic griffins striding over prostrate elephants, are outside; one of them is still standing, and in tolerable preservation: it is elevated on an oblong pedestal, and was one of two which guarded the eastern entrance. Foliage is springing up in its cre-

vices, and will soon lay its glory in the dust. A complete shrubbery has grown upon the summit of the temple, which was once graced with the Leel Chucker, or blue wheel of Vishnu; this was taken down by an European gentleman, and sent to Europe.

A curious notion prevails among the Hindoos, of the temple having a loadstone on its top, which, attracting the ships passing, drew them to destruction: a party of seamen landed from a ship, and destroyed both the stone and temple, since which it has been deserted. The oddity of the story is its coincidence with that of Sinbad in the Arabian Nights. The Gooroo, or Priest, mentioned that an inclined plane was used in constructing the temple: which was most probably the case, as some of the stones which have fallen from the roof measure sixteen feet long by six broad and three deep, and no tackle of those days would have served for such weights.

The Chilkah Lake is an inlet from the sea through a narrow and shallow channel, running as far south as Ganjam: the lake is fully described in Mr. Stirling's work. The scenery at the southern end is stated to be most romantic; rocky islands covered with brushwood, head-lands and promontories projecting

into the water, are among its beauties. This inlet is very shallow all over, and so great is the influence and power of the wind at some periods of the year, that the waters are driven to one corner, and are on a higher level than in other parts. The lake abounds with various kinds of excellent fish: oysters are abundant, as are shrimps; the latter is an article of extensive commerce among the lower orders of natives. The lake continues for thirty miles parallel to the sea, from which it is separated only by a stripe of sand from three to four hundred yards broad. The islands have much game and deer upon them.

Cuttach is the principal town of the province; it has a population of 40,000 souls: the number of houses is 6500. The area of Orissa is 9000 square miles, and the inhabitants, upon the best authority, are close upon 1,300,000, and averaging five to a house. The revenue to the India Government nets thirty lacs of rupees, after all expenses; of this, salt alone furnishes a clear profit of eighteen lacs of rupees.

The character of the people has not the manliness or independent bearing of the Hindoos of the North; the Ooryas, as they are

termed, are even behind the Bengallys in energy and enterprise; the people are effeminate, and, though possessed of cunning on occasions, are generally a heavy and stupid race: they are addicted, like most Orientals, to subterfuge and dissimulation, but, withal, they are peaceable people, and are the most easily managed of the subjects of the Company.

Extensive forests and lakes cover great part of the province. In the jungles wild animals abound, particularly elephants, which do incredible mischief to the crops: the Rajah of Moherlung, some few years since, poisoned eighty in one season.

On the 13th of July embarked on board a pilot schooner, and on the 14th reached Calcutta.

OBSERVATIONS

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CHAPTER I.

Our Indian Forces.—Promotion.—Branches of the Army.—Line-Promotion.—Succession to Rank.—Unfair Distinction.—Injudicious Regulations.—Probation.—Injustice.—Half Batta.—Undue Favour.

THE Bengal Army is, from numbers, discipline, and principle, the finest and most efficient body of men that was ever organized out of Europe. By this no invidious distinction is intended between it and those of the sister Presidencies, for the character applies equally to all three. The Indian troops have been eulogized by every commander who has

had them under his orders, and the mention of them in a recent work is the opinion of one competent to decide from a long and very intimate intercourse; though it may be a matter of question whether it is politic to place them, as has been the case, upon a par with the European soldiery: but of this more hereafter.

The constitution of our Indian forces (the same at each Presidency) is widely different from that of the British army, and a change might take place with great advantage to the state and to the armies themselves. Efficiency in the higher ranks is the first desideratum, for in India, when an officer reaches the rank of Major-general, it is rarely before his energies are so impaired as to unfit him for the active duties of the profession: there are exceptions, of course, but, generally speaking, the assertion is too true. Take, for instance, the period of service:—the Colonels who are to be brought in at the next brevet as Major-generals, are Cadets of the years 1779 and 1780 — fifty-two and three years' service; and admitting they entered the profession at sixteen years of age, they are close upon the term of threescore years and ten, which has been adduced as the general du-

ration of human life: it is true that some may linger on to four-score; but as the prophet has said—*It is altogether vanity.*

In 1829, the Lieutenant-colonels (Commandant) were of the years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814; that is, the seniors. These officers were Cadets of 1781, 82, and 83, then of forty-six, forty-seven, and forty-eight years' service. Now, if these officers remain eight years full Colonels under existing circumstances, which in all probability they may, they will have completed, respectively, fifty-four, fifty-five, and fifty-six years of Indian service; and supposing that they entered upon their career at sixteen, it will bring the eldest to seventy-two years of age upon his promotion to Major-general. Here, surely, is sufficient cause that local rank should be given to the Indian army; and it may be urged that this measure can only be carried into effect by putting the King's and Company's forces under one head, making them one army, and thus rendering all the advantages equal.

But this is a subject requiring deep and mature consideration. It has been suggested that exchanges might be permitted between officers serving in Europe, and those in India, subject to wholesome restrictions. If the

native army was the King's, this point could easily be effected; but, as the case is at present, it cannot, because the officers of the Company's army have local rank only, and lose it upon their quitting India, or whenever westward of the Cape of Good Hope, or St. Helena; while the King's officer, go where he will, always retains the advantages attached to his rank. In India, where the climate is inimical to the European constitution, it would naturally be imagined that promotion would be proportionably quick; but the proofs are to the contrary, and the cause can only be assigned to the faulty system in use: the ground-work of this system is seniority, but of limited operation.

The branches, or arms of the Indian army, are, as in Europe, divided into four,—cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry: but the parallel stops there. In India these branches are each one and indivisible, arising from the profit-and-loss notions at the India-house, where it is supposed that the value of each is in proportion to the inverse ratio of its real consequence as a military body: in plain parlance—the Directors value a cadetship to the engineers at a higher rate than one to the cavalry; the latter is superior to the artillery; and last, and least in estimation, comes the marching regiments. Why? For

the simple reason that the pay and emoluments of each branch are in the above gradation. These branches are interdicted from connection with each other, and all promotions are made alone in each.

There being only one corps of engineers and one of artillery, the promotion all through the ranks is entirely regimental: but it is otherwise with the cavalry and infantry; in these two branches promotion takes place in each corps, as far as the attainment of a majority, subsequent to which all future advancement is by seniority, and is termed "line promotion." For example, the junior Major of to-day never can, by any device, "o'erstep the modesty" of the one above him, except by brevet; but this proves only a barren sceptre; it is unaccompanied by that which makes office profitable.

Supersessions in the junior ranks occur of course; there are at this moment subalterns of 1816, who were cadets of 1812, 13, and 14, while others, more fortunate, write themselves Captain after seven years' service. There is no half-pay upon which the officer could retire, and thence resume his duties when his circumstances induced the desire. With the exception of his furlough, he must either continue on full pay, or quit the service altogether.

Another cause militating against promotion, is the absence of exchanges, which, in the East, are almost unknown.

But that which may be considered the principal effect against rapid advancement, is the nature of the Company's service. Every one entering it, does so with the intention of completing the full period of twenty-two years. Now, with reference to the quick succession to rank in the King's army it must be remembered, that many young men of family and wealth enter it merely for a short time, perhaps more for the *éclat* than anything else; others, again, for more reasonable and worthy motives, but, becoming tired of military rule and coercion, relinquish their places to other aspirants.

From there being fewer opportunities of realizing a sufficiency to induce retirement now than of yore, another most potent reason presents itself, for an officer continuing in the service after the completion of the period which entitles him to the pension of his rank; and it is one of the most remarkable features of the impolicy of the present system, that it prevents not only the desired quick advancement of the officer, but destroys his positive efficiency also. Government, in taking away

from regimental officers the various sums which it has taken at different times, and by reducing their allowances to the mere limits of existence, has struck at the root of that efficiency, the result of intelligence and zeal, which was formerly so conspicuous in the officers of the Indian army; and in the unwise resolution of circumscribing its liberality to officers on the staff, has actually given a bonus to the annihilation of every feeling and principle which could impart life and exertion to the officer.

Constituted as the Indian army is, with its advantages of retiring pensions, and full pay when on furlough, the superiority should not have been so palpably on the side of the few, such as the staff, compared to the great bulk of the army. The privileges appertaining to all, upon the completion of their periods of service, did not imply that so impolitic and unfair a distinction should be made as to pay a staff so largely, and at the same time to curtail regimental officers of long enjoyed allowances. On the contrary, it would have been wiser to add to the emoluments of the latter, and thus to induce them to fulfil zealously and efficiently the discharge of regimental duties, rather than teach them to look to the staff alone for the

enjoyment of increased income, and at the same time the performance of duties infinitely less irksome and disagreeable.

The regulation which was intended to add to the efficiency of the army, by causing the removal of officers from the staff upon their arriving at certain regimental ranks, has had an entirely contrary effect, and in more ways than one. In many instances officers are removed from important and responsible situations, merely because they are within the meaning of the order. This was the fault of those who framed the regulation, and who did not foresee or comprehend the mischief of permitting half the officers to be away from their corps at one time. The officer on attaining the promotion which subjects him to the operation of this rule, is dissatisfied that he should feel its effects. He relinquishes a large for a very small income, and all the enjoyments and conveniences of quiet and settled life for the combined *désagrémens* of a wandering camp and the irksome details of regimental or outpost duty: he returns to his corps disgusted with his ill-fortune, and determined to escape the first opportunity.

It has often been the case, that an officer so remanded to his corps, is wholly unfit to com-

mand even a company; and it has been known that this plea has been urged both by the officer, and on other occasions by the officials of the army, to induce his being permitted to remain in his snug birth. A probation of three years is exacted before an officer can be employed on the general staff of the army; and he must pass the whole of this period in the performance of regimental duties. One year, under similar conditions, must elapse before he can hold the regimental staff offices; that is to say, the Adjutancy or the Quartermastership. From the first moment that the young officer presents his letters of recommendation, and, with the promised good still in his ear, joins his corps, his thoughts are solely bent upon the means of rescue from the thraldom of regimental duty, in the attainment of a staff employment: the army-list is consulted for expected vacancies and probable nominations; the faintest prospect of patronage is dwelt upon with intense hope, which must of course, oftener than otherwise, end in disappointment. This begets carelessness, and disgust follows quickly. Did the mischief terminate here, it might be less injurious to the service; but the natives are too observant, and their habits are too prone to ascertain

the actual relation of servants and superiors in all departments, to allow the indications of discontent in their European officers to pass unheeded: and who is to tell in what channel the current of their own reflections will run, or how soon they may not anticipate the withering hand of reduction stretching itself over their own allowances?

The Court of Directors have acted with erring policy. Perhaps it would be leading this subject too far to repeat the numerous arguments against the late measure of half batta; but one or two remarks may, it is hoped, be appropriately mentioned in this place. First, then, it was *unjust*, as being a violation of the then existing order of things, which it may not be too much to assert that every one entering the Company's service was led to believe would continue, *because* the *contrary* was never declared. The abstract relation of master and servant cannot apply in this case; indeed, it is wholly inapplicable.

The India Company have caused their servants to enter into its employ, knowing, at the same time, that the sacrifices they have made in the chances of success, had they entered into public life in Europe, can never be recovered. The

measure is *unjust*, because it has taken away that which was necessary to existence, particularly in the junior ranks. Wealth, like other things, is by comparison; and what would be deemed in Europe affluence, is in India bare subsistence. It is *impolitic*, because disgust at the liability to such heartless treatment as the civil and military services have lately received at the hands of their *Honourable masters*, is sure to be engendered; and if this feeling is not removed by the abolition of the noxious regulation, it is difficult to say whether the two branches will limit the expression of their feelings to disgust alone.

The Court of Directors, in promulgating the half batta order, must have overlooked the proceedings at Madras in 1809. The regulation is an open contradiction to the letters of the Court, when the subject and claim of full batta had been brought to its notice by the Madras and Bombay armies; and the despatches of those days were demonstrative of the Court's fixed opinion, that the peculiar situation and circumstances of the Bengal troops gave them a decided claim to the enjoyment of full batta. It is said for the Court, (but with what truth is yet to be

learnt,) that it would have rescinded the order, had it known how to do so, when it found that it was so obnoxious and hurtful to the army.

The Governor-General, who went from England commissioned to carry the orders of the Court into effect, expressed himself in terms of regret that the measure was considered necessary;—he was unfriendly to it;—he would listen to objections, and he would forward the memorials of the officers to the Court, with his best wishes for the success of their prayers. But it remains to be told how the words of promise to the ear were broken to the hope. The order could have been made a dead letter, pending a reference to the Court, by fixing the date of its operation a month or two later, so as to have given time for the corps then in movement to have arrived at their respective stations. Here presented itself an easy and a constitutional mode of allowing the Court of Directors to come to its senses.

The opinion of the Commander-in-chief was requested, and, as an earnest of how much attention it would receive, the promulgation of the order took place three days subsequently to his receiving the letter, in which his opinion and judgment were called for. His Excellency, being 700 miles from the Council cham-

ber, had not time sufficient to tender his objections, or to deprecate the issuing forth of the heartless mandate. In breathless haste, the Governor-general would not wait even for the commencement of the new year for the order to take effect; but to anticipate the arrival of two or three unlucky regiments then in the course of a change of stations, it was dated some day at the end of November. Some corps had marched 1000 and 1200 miles to meet such a welcome. They shook the dust off their shoes in testimony of their feelings.

The regulation is unfair and invidious, because a large portion of the army cannot be subjected to its rule; for instance, the cavalry and horse artillery are never quartered at half-batta stations — this creates discontent. Again, it cramps the designs of the Commander-in-chief in the movement of corps, and the appointment of officers to commands; for how can it be admitted with any degree of fairness, that the Government should continue any corps under the pinching effects of half, when others have been in the long enjoyment of full batta?

Will the order not induce partiality in the distribution of officers and corps? If not, a change must take place in the quarters of

regiments, to the deterioration of that effectiveness which drill and discipline, in congregated bodies, can alone give to the army at large. Then, again, the claims of individuals must sometimes be opposed to those of regiments, owing to the practice now in effect of transferring commanding officers from one corps to another.

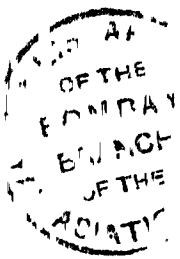
It is also unjust, because an arrangement had been made some years previous, that the full batta should be permanent, in consequence of sundry allowances being surrendered by the officers. One of its most objectionable points, though it operated only for a time, was to place corps at the same station on different allowances, some on full, others on half batta, merely because the time of arrival of some of them was antecedent to the date of the order. Here we may see the misfortune bringing its own punishment; the juxta-position of these regiments must have been very soothing to the new comers! Then the four stations, which are subjected to the order, are those whose expenses of all kinds are greatest. House-rent, servants, and food, are dearer than in the Upper Provinces, added to which the loss by the currency of the sicca rupee. But these, as well as other notable circumstances,

escaped the humane consideration of the Directors.

Lastly, it is most ruinous in its effects upon the junior branches of the army, whose allowances are so low, that it is completely out of their power to command the comforts absolutely necessary to health, much less to enable them to keep up, what is so imperiously demanded of them, the appearance of gentlemen.

It is distressing to reflect upon the situation of those who have families; for the promulgation of the half-batta regulation has caused more misery and distress than can be readily set forth or understood. It is not enough to say that the appointments on the staff are intended as the reward of talents and merit. The staff is, as it ever has been, (with few and far-between exceptions,) prostituted to the subserviency or the maintenance of influence in England, or to the gratification of personal feelings on the spot; and bears, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the prevailing marks of undue favour. The present times are not one jot behind the past, in instances where merit is its own reward. Are there no men of merit or desert in the Company's army who have served twenty-five years with credit to

themselves, and with advantage to the state? Have these ever been rewarded with a share of the patronage of the Government?—The answer is "No." The name legion may be appropriately applied to them, for they are many.



CHAPTER II.

Ruinous War.—The Civil Service.—Narrow Policy.—Former Governors.—Transfer of the Army.—Exchange of Officers.—Want of Discernment.—Condition of the Army.—Its angry feelings.—Consciousness of wrong.—Timor's saying.

THE East India Company, after a ruinous war, (for what has it gained?) in which it expended thirteen millions sterling, has set itself seriously to work to reduce its embarrassments. To arrive at this, the reductions have been commenced with those less able than others to bear them. There is no doubt that great savings might be effected in all branches of the expenditure; but due regard to fairness should be observed in the proceeding.

In the upper ranks of the civil service, there are many situations of enormous amount, quite

disproportioned to the duties or responsibility belonging to them; and far above the general average of receipts from offices held by persons of contemporaneous service. The incumbents of these places are positive proofs of the usual course of patronage; and, true to the spirit which advanced their interests over the claims of their less fortunate, though perhaps higher talented brethren, they are the last to whom the paring knife is applied; rather its edge is blunted when contact is even imagined. The indecent haste satisfied itself in its exercise upon the military, and in the civil service places were not touched until the incumbent quitted.

That the Court of Directors, or any body of men so constituted, could frame orders for the reduction of the allowances of that army to which it owes its very existence, ought not to be considered surprising: it, either individually or collectively, may not be supposed to possess any more interest for India than attends upon its own good, and its efforts for the well-being of that country are directed and limited to the wealth she can furnish, and the thousand places annually, the patronage only of which enables them to occupy their present positions. Many of

the Directors have no other means of acquiring information, or of forming correct, or indeed, any notions of the situation of their servants, than is to be gathered from occasional visits to the India House; few of them were ever in India, and from this circumstance alone the majority is wholly unqualified to judge of the wants, or even the rights of their servants: their personal feelings, their habits, and duties are bounded by the narrow policy of profit and loss—unworthy of themselves and those who serve them.

But that a Governor-general with the name and the celebrity he possessed when he assumed the charge of our Indian empire—himself a soldier—of liberal, and would-be-thought uninfluenced opinions—who professed a determined resolution to judge impartially and reward liberally—that he could lend the sanction of his character to the issue and enforcement of the Court's orders on the half batta question, is remarkable. He does not occupy now his once proud eminence, but in the execution of the obnoxious measure, opposed to his recorded opinion, has proved that he departed for his government fettered by the bonds of the Court, and thus leads the

world to suppose that the Government of India was his only because he consented to be bound. Lord Hastings spurned the idea of not exercising the right to judge of orders from home, as they might or would most probably affect India: not once, but twice, did he beat back the attempt to overmaster his better judgment. Lord Amherst, too, had the spirit to withstand them also: whether from himself or others, the praise belongs to him alone; and yet his successor has been a willing instrument to thrust poverty and contempt upon as gallant and devoted a body of men as ever called a selfish and ungrateful corporation master. The complacency or stoicism with which one man with an income of 20,000 rupees a month, can see another with a family starve upon 150 rupees, is in these times heroic.

It has been the practice of the Indian Government of late to depreciate the services of the army, and to take from the officers their advantages, one after another, so as to leave the juniors at this moment not even a bare subsistence. If the half-batta order is not rescinded, the army will not know where to look for a limit to reduction: *no* batta may succeed to half, and the pensions may

be knocked away with at least the same fairness as full-batta. Will the Company condescend to ask the officers to trust to its honour and liberality? and will the officers believe its promises of no further aggression upon their receipts? Will they take no heed for the morrow? Is the staff to continue upon its present footing unscathed? It was the insecurity which the officers felt for the enjoyment of the advantages which they have lately lost, and for which they entered the Company's service, and expatriated themselves for so many years, that induced them to hope for the transfer of the Indian army to the King, and this hope has now acquired added intensity and seriousness.

That this measure would be beneficial to both parties may be safely asserted, for it would bestow upon the Company's officers what they do not now possess, viz., the retention of rank, and the importance attached to it, wherever they went; while to the King's officers it would open the sources of emolument by appointments to the staff, which now are sealed fountains, and upon which no talismanic influence of patronage can prevail. But, great as the good would prove from this transfer, it is not supposed to be the preferable

proceeding; the reason is connected with the propriety of the Government of India remaining in other hands than those of the Minister of the day.*

* The writer is sorry not to accord in opinion with some of his friends upon the propriety of the Army of India being in the hands of a Company of merchants. But it is urged that whoever possesses the government of the country *de facto*, ought to have at its disposal the force by which it is preserved. That there should be one army only, is too apparent to need advocacy; but, making the whole a King's army, and giving the patronage of appointments to the Commander-in-chief in England, would be imparting too predominating an influence to that officer, as it would at the same time be depriving the Court of Directors of that which makes their situations valuable and important.

A plan might, perhaps, be hit upon to allow the Court and the Horse-Guards to share the military patronage; but whosoever may be the hands which govern the country, to them also ought to belong the army and all matters concerning it. It is a bugbear to imagine that any harm could ensue from the whole of the European troops belonging to the Company: how are they to be recruited, but from England? Let it be remembered that the Indian army must be a strictly colonial one. It will not do to have a constant succession and change of officers; and the few admissions, save exchanges, should refer to officers in command of divisions; and of these it would be right to fill up two-thirds by officers who had passed their whole service in India. The religions, habits, manners, and last, though not least, the prejudices of the natives, would make it imperative upon no officer being placed in command who did not com-

It will be stated in another place what are conceived to be the claims of the King's officer to a participation in the staff employments and other situations of emolument in the East Indies; and it is hoped that they will not be considered otherwise than fair and equitable. Sir John Malcolm recommends the exchange of officers under certain limitations; but gravely enjoins a "strict and scrupulous adherence to them." Now, under "existing circumstances," where could be found one Company's officer to exchange with one of the King's service? It is less difficult, perhaps, to detect error than to apply a remedy; yet it may be useful to point out positive defects, for the information of all who are concerned in having them amended. The sick are only made whole by the physician possessing every knowledge of the distemper. That India and her

prehend and understand them in a degree sufficient to warrant his nomination to command. Allowing that the army was a royal one, it must be wholly distinct from the others in different parts of our colonial possessions. This is most desirable, as it would put all men upon an equal footing, which is far from being the case now. But, once for all, the army must be subservient to the orders of the Government, in order to preserve the quiet possession of those vast countries which differ in so many important points — in the inhabitants, laws, habits, and usages.

inhabitants — the conquerors as well as the conquered — have need of the physician, is most true.

An useless and inglorious war, most ruinous upon the finances, has determined the Court of Directors to make its army and civil service pay for its own blindness and folly in the appointment of its "upper servants," and in the egregious incapacity or imbecility of the late Indian government, which rushed with all the ardour of a commander of provincial heroes, and with the experience of tactics acquired in a country campaign, to charge itself with the fortune of war, and the honour of the army at its command. If the Company was so negligent of its own interest, it ought to bear the blame and expense, the result of its want of discernment in a proper choice of a chief for the Indian government; but that those men by whom the war was continued and brought to a conclusion—who bore without a murmur, the fatigue, distress, and privations of the campaigns, all incident to the mal-administration at head-quarters, that these should be considered fit subjects for the "levy of distress" when the danger is passed over, who but the Court of Directors or the late Board of Control will venture to say?

The latter department has had the odium of issuing the half-batta order; but if this be true, why don't the Court boldly say so, that the offence may rest where it justly ought? Let it prove this, and the confidence of the army will be restored to it. But the fact is partial, and the Court and the Board are equally implicated in the violence; or why was the Court's anger kindled alone, against those who did not coincide with its wishes on the subject of half-batta?

It is now to be shown what was the condition of the army, when this most heartless measure was promulgated to its obedient reception. For many years it had not had the advantage of a strict surveillance of the Commander-in-chief, in a visit to the several stations, in a personal inspection of every corps, and in a thorough and intimate acquaintance with the merits and acquirements of the officers in charge of them. The issuing of orders is not alone sufficient to arrive at the efficiency of an army; but the vigilant superintendence of the Commander's eye is required, to ascertain if those orders are understood and acted up to. In the course of two tours of inspection through the Upper Provinces, the Commander-in-chief was en-

abled to estimate, from personal observation, what progress had been made in the practice of the system which some time before had been communicated to the army; the results were most gratifying, arising equally from the excellent *materiel*, imbued as it was with emulative eagerness, and distinguished by the character and feeling inherent in the breasts of officers and soldiers, as also from the fitness of the system itself. Every corps was reviewed and minutely inspected; and wherever several could be brought together for combined exercise and movements, it was effected.

It would be unbecoming in the writer to use language in the garb of praise, when drawing the attention of the reader to the condition of the army at the period in question; but it is boldly asserted, that there is not an officer in the Bengal army who will not advance his testimony to the great improvement and advantage derived, in all its branches, from the active and effective administration of its duties by the late Commander-in-chief. It was, as far as the penurious policy of the Home authorities permitted, an army eminent in discipline, in a knowledge of its practical and theoretical duties, and in a spirit of high

feeling—the characteristics of soldiers when ably commanded, and enjoying a proper consideration of their merits and a protection of their interests.

It is a fact, no less true than to some folks unpalatable, that, had not the army been in the high and palmy state above described, the Court of Directors might have had other nuts to crack than treating the memorials of its officers with refusal and contempt. Angry men are prone to confound their friends with their foes. The Commander-in-chief, by a measure of great judgment, repressed the feelings of the officers, which were, without a dissentient instance, those of a most irritated nature. He pointed out petitioning as the mode, in his opinion, the most likely to obtain the withdrawal of the obnoxious order, as it certainly was the most fitting one for soldiers to adopt. The Commander-in-chief (in the phrase of the Governor-General) thus afforded a safety-valve for the effervescence of the angry feelings of the army; and in agreement with this superior authority, advised a temperate and respectful memorial to the Home authorities: but he most distinctly and peremptorily prohibited any proceedings which went to appoint delegates to England

to conduct their complaint, or to receive any memorial which was not, in all circumstances, strictly consonant to the obedience and respect due to superior authority.

The Court of Directors appear angry that remonstrance should be made by its servants: a sure and certain test whereby it is known that it is conscious of having ill-treated them; a man does not dislike another the less because he has ill-used him. The Court itself has been scurvily treated; but it was by the Minister, not by the army, whose exertions continued the Company in the possession of the country. "The King's most Excellent Majesty" deigns to receive petitions and memorials from his subjects and servants; and it may be thought this fact would constitute a pretty precedent for others of inferior dignity to follow, and prove warranty enough even for the Court of Directors.

The best proof of the Honourable Court being in the wrong in ever thinking of the measure, and in its displeasure to those of different opinions, is, that it would most willingly have rescinded the order, had it known how to do so with becoming dignity as masters: this is said for the Court, but it savours too much of humbug to be credited; for it is to be re-

collected, that the Court issued the order with its eyes open to previous occurrences of a kindred character at Madras in 1809, and it was well aware of the feelings to which it would give rise, when it essayed in vain to induce Lords Hastings and Amherst to take upon them the execution of its sentence.

If there is aught of sincerity in the assigned wishes of the Court, it may yet amend what it has done amiss, and, at the same time, take a lesson, and learn to look before it leaps. The doctrine of doing a little wrong that great good may ensue, is ingeniously improved upon by the Court, which does as much harm as possible, that little, or rather no good, may follow.

This is the present state of affairs: the India Company has carried its measures thus far, and chuckles upon its success, while the army is left to chew the cud of reflection, and to bear their sufferings with a patient shrug. The evil day may and will come when the cry for help shall be unheeded. Timor the Tartar had a saying to the present purpose: "Fill ye the bellies of the soldiers, that they may not be induced to show their backs in battle." The Company's army has caught Tartars of a different character.

CHAPTER III.

Rise of the Army.—Native Troops.—Artillery.—Native Artillery.—Native Cavalry.—Native Infantry.—Massacre at Barrackpore.—Cause of the Massacre —Foresight, or Concession.—The Engineers.

It may now be proper to proceed to the details of the Bengal army, first giving a cursory glance at the history of its rise, and subsequent augmentations, to the present day.

In the early times of warfare, between the Company and the native powers, and those which closed with peace with the Burmese, the difference is so very striking, as to present scarcely any resemblance. Adventurers, as the Company at first were, and fighting solely for existence, it was necessary to identify their own interests with those of the natives, whom they took into

their pay, and to conciliate them by exciting their hopes, showing deference to their prejudices, protecting their customs, and rewarding their deserts. The distinctions of master and servants were then not so apparent as they are now.

In the days of Clive, Lawrence, and Coote, two, or at the utmost three, Europeans were with a corps of Sepoys; and where shall we look for greater exertions, more determined gallantry and zeal, more devoted fidelity and endurance under privation and defeat, than was evinced by the native troops under those renowned leaders? All the high attributes of those soldiers doubtless belong to the Sepoys of the present day. But is there any one who will say that they have now such powerful motives, such good cause to exert their energies with the same spirit and alacrity they would have done in the times adverted to, and in the arduous campaigns of Lord Lake, when officers and men vied with each other in the performance of their duty, the former being nine months in arrears of pay?

Eulogy has been exhausted upon the character of the Native troops, and upon their behaviour in the day of battle. They have unwisely, by their advocates, been made equal

to the European soldiery, which they never can be; and, if they were, would it be policy to insist upon their believing the fact, and, by reiterating it, induce them to try their strength with the Europeans, whenever they saw fit to prove the assertion? No one less obtuse than he who has passed his life in presiding at tea sales will deny that, if the Native troops had had the wit to plan, and the spirit to conduct a simultaneous attack upon the Europeans, they would have despatched them before breakfast; the numbers were at one time about 27,000 Europeans to 160,000 Natives, the latter, according to their eulogists, as efficient and as pretty men too, and with all the armies of the Native powers able and willing to back them.

It is not desired to depreciate the character of the Native troops, who are the finest body of men, (better organized and disciplined,) out of Europe: but it is to do away with an erroneous and untrue estimation which elevates them to the same rank and efficiency as the European soldiers, that calls forth these observations. If the Company could place implicit reliance upon the fidelity of the native troops, there needs not one pale face from the Indus to Ceylon. But it would be uncharit-

able to enumerate the various instances where the Natives swerved from obedience, to which they were compelled to return by the "persuasion" of the Europeans. It cannot be denied that the Natives were "more sinned against than sinning," but this does not detract from the services of the Europeans.

Under the present constitution of our Indian possessions, it will be found, as an able (when impartial) writer has affirmed, "that a judicious admixture of European and Native troops will present the fairest prospect of arriving at a desired end, and giving to the furtherance of it all the advantages which can spring from a cordiality of feeling and the spirit of a generous emulation." *

The different branches of the Bengal army are as follows, viz. :—

1. European and Native artillery, horse and foot.
2. European infantry.
3. Native cavalry.
4. Native infantry.
5. Irregular horse and foot.
6. Engineers, sappers, miners, and pioneers.

The artillery was formed into a brigade of

* Malcolm.

three battalions in 1787, and, at that period, was exclusively foot artillery. In 1818, this arm consisted of one brigade of horse, and four battalions of foot. In June 1825, it was re-organized, and is now composed as follows: Three brigades of horse, of four troops each, and seven battalions of foot, of four companies each. The complement of European officers is as follows, viz :—

Ten Colonels.
Ten Lieutenant-Colonels.
Ten Majors.
Fifty Captains.
Eighty Lieutenants.
Forty Second Lieutenants.

The palm of pre-eminence will be conceded by all to the artillery, particularly to the mounted portion: this latter is as distinguished for science, zeal, smartness, and activity, as their brethren of the royal army; and it may without arrogance be prognosticated, that if ever the armies of India are brought in collision with those of foreign powers attempting the subjugation of our possessions, or we may have to contend against internal enemies, it will be to this branch of our military strength that we shall owe whatever success

may await us.* It is without boast a handsome, very highly disciplined, gallant, and in every way efficient corps. The horse artillery is in three brigades, each consisting of three troops; the number of men in each brigade is 240 Europeans, and 90 Natives of the foot. Five battalions are European, each of 320 men, and two battalions of Natives, of 556 each, making a grand total of 3702. It is but fair to say, that the Native part of this branch, in all real and substantial considerations, almost equal the excellences of the European portion.

With the Natives it is a disgrace unknown to desert their guns; and, from whatever source this devoted feeling may arise, it is a palpable one, as our frequent contests with the Native powers have invariably proved. At Assaye—

* It may astound the reader when he is told that the Commander-in-chief was once called upon for his opinion as to the feasibility of *horse* artillery being drawn by bullocks; the answer ran, that it was out of his Excellency's power to change *bullocks* into *horses*. Paddy is the man for making bulls; the transmutation of cattle, though not an entirely novel notion, has generally been limited in its operation to the human form divine, and that animal *par excellence* which serves as a personification of patience. In this change, men officiate for themselves.

Laswarrie — Mahidpoor, and Bhurtpoor, the enemy's artillery-men stood unflinchingly to their guns, and were cut down defending them. The superstitious veneration which the Asiatics have for their cannon shows itself in various ways. With them it is an universal practice to adorn their guns with paintings and wreaths of flowers. They dignify them with epithets, indicative of power or fortune, such as "The roar of Lutchmee," "The Fort Destroyer," and others of equally significant allusion. This tribute to the Native artillery, it is confidently believed, will not excite the umbrage of their companions in arms.

The European infantry consists of two regiments of 500 men each. It was about 1751 that the European soldiery of the Company were first put together; but, in 1825, the two regiments first received their numbers: they are recruited from England, (as is also the artillery,) and by volunteers from the King's corps returning to Europe. The discipline and interior economy of these corps are not so minutely or so strictly enforced, or they are not precisely the same, as the system which ensures the uniform regularity and appearance of a regiment of the line. They have, however, on all occasions, behaved as British soldiers; and

Plassy, Buxar, Deig, and Bhurtpoor, have witnessed their courage and conduct.

Of the Native cavalry, which is in ten regiments, two corps were raised in 1787, the third in 1796, the fourth in 1797, fifth and sixth in 1800, the seventh and eighth in 1805, and the ninth and tenth in 1825. The number of men is 4800, to which must be added 100 men forming the body-guard of the Governor-general. Each corps has for its establishment of European officers, 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-colonel, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, and 4 Cornets. Without meaning any disrespect to this arm of the service, it cannot be said that it presents so much for approval as the other branches: it would be unjust to attempt to take from it the claim to attachment and good feeling it so undoubtedly possesses, in unison with its brethren, or to insinuate that it is not as efficient for the purpose required as the others; but the cavalry has not made similar or equal advances to precision on those points which characterize highly disciplined soldiers. The reason is, that this body has not been taught by such able masters as the infantry —it has not had such constant attention paid to carriage and appearance; the men do not ride steadily, but possess the uncontrolled ges-

tures and action peculiar to Natives. The trooper, when out of the ranks, rides furiously whenever he can find an opportunity; he kicks about his legs and lounges upon his horse: even when at field-exercise, he is very unsteady, and never looks what is termed "well;" that is, clean, smart, upright, and steady, or as being of a piece with his horse.

The Company have no European cavalry in their service. The Native regular infantry amounts to 47,360 men, in 74 battalions, with the following complement of European officers, viz. 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-colonel, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, and 4 Ensigns; the Adjutant and Quartermaster are taken from the subalterns. The Native commissioned officers are subahdars and jemadars, one of each rank to a company. The regiments are numbered, and all, with the exception of those recently embodied, carry the name of the officer who raised or first commanded them. It frequently occurs that the Sepoy is ignorant of the number of his corps, and only knows it by the patronymic attached.

The present formation of the infantry is that ill-starred one of 1824; and a more mischievous one in its effects, and unfairly operative in its details, has seldom been con-

cocted by the wise men of the East. The first corps of Native infantry in Bengal was embodied in 1757. In 1796, the infantry was in thirty-six battalions, which underwent an organization into twelve regiments of two battalions each. A marine corps for sea and colonial purposes had been raised the preceding year, but had not received a number. Two regiments in four battalions were added in 1797. This year, and the succeeding one, proving troublous from the apprehension of the sinister intentions of Ahmed Shah upon the provinces south of the Sutlege, three regiments were added in 1798, making eighteen.

In 1800, after the capture of Seringapatam, and the consequent extension of territory, an augmentation of two more regiments took place; the marine corps becoming the 20th. In 1803 and 1804, the wars of Lord Lake, with their consequent drains, together with a still larger extension of territory, made a further increase necessary. Six more were added to the list. The force continued at this amount, notwithstanding the extensive and important armaments fitted out, which captured Java and the Isle of France, in 1810 and 1811; yet such was the quiet reigning in Hindoostan, that no further addition was necessary, until the break-

ing out of the Nepal war, when another augmentation was required, and the number completed to thirty. Four more corps were embodied in 1823, during the administration of Mr. Adam.

In 1824, a complete and radical change was effected in the arrangement of the Native infantry, professedly beneficial, but, as will be endeavoured to be shown, of exceedingly and seriously injurious results.

This change went to make each regiment, consisting of two battalions, into two separate corps, for the purpose of securing to old officers the advantage of sooner obtaining the off-reckonings of a corps; and also, as far as possible, to regulate the inequalities of promotion, which, in some cases, were of unexampled backwardness. The ill effects of this change were to dislocate every joint of the army. The measure, not only ill-judged, was still more ill-timed and mischievous in its consequences. It was also absurd, because the good sought for, as far as regarded the first intention, could have been secured by retaining the two battalions, and dividing the off-reckonings between two colonels.

With respect to bringing forward those of backward promotion, an additional corps or

two would have been as effectual, certainly the most sensible and preferable mode; for the intentions of the framers of the arrangement on this point were far from being fulfilled.* Had it not been for this complete dislocation—for it was nothing less—it is not too much to say that the mutiny, and consequent massacre at Barrackpore, would not have occurred to crimson with shame the Native soldiery, and those whose blindness and folly pushed them to the crime. The conduct of the Government proved unfortunately too powerful an adjunct to the occasion of that most lamentable occurrence, the details of which, and the consequent inquiry into its origin, have been studiously kept from the public eye.

The blame attached to the Sepoys would be lessened, or at least shared by others, if the papers of those proceedings could be perused by impartial persons. The officers, to a man almost, were taken away from the battalions, in which many had served twenty years, and sent hundreds of miles to join the others now made into a separate corps; and this merely to abide by rules for the transfer, with-

* In spite of this arrangement, there are now Subalterns of 1816 and 17, while others have been fortunate enough to attain their companies after seven or eight years' service.

out consideration of the times, which were marked by an active, impolitic, and, with the natives, an unpopular war.

The Government evinced a specimen of Gulliverian ingenuity, in fitting to the shoulders of the Sepoys heads which did not belong to them. One of these corps, which had been dismembered of its old officers, and in their room had been furnished with a new set, (with the palpable disadvantage also of a new commanding officer, but little liked by the men,) was ordered to march for the province of Assam; and knowing, from experience and information, the nature of the country, and the utter impracticability of procuring carriage for their baggage, applied to be furnished with it. The Government refused: the corps was without its old leaders, and the newly-appointed officers had not acquired the confidence of the men; the usual and proper intercourse had not taken place, which happily might have averted the effusion of blood. The massacre followed! To sum up this matter, the Government saw the necessity of conceding to the Sepoys' request, as being but *just* and *reasonable* on its own merits, and also with reference to the analogous position of the Madras troops, whose wants had been

most amply supplied by their own Government.

It will hardly be credited, that the Bengal Government gave larger salaries and immunities to the porters and cattle-drivers employed, than to the soldiers upon whose conduct they looked for success. Sir John Malcolm in an article upon "Native troops" says, as if in prophetic warning to the Bengal Government: "The difference between a wise foresight which prevents demand, and that weakness which meets it with concession, is immense—the former is the characteristic of a rising, the latter of a falling Government."

We have seen the premises advanced, but may Providence avert the conclusion! Such a common-place maxim being considered necessary for the guidance of a Government having under its rule 100,000,000 souls, carries with it something of the air of sarcasm.

In 1825, the unexpected continued operations of the Burmese war frightened the Government into another augmentation of the line, and twelve regiments more were considered necessary to keep the foe from the gate. But the Court of Directors, wide awake upon the occasion, thought this was carrying the joke too far, and with a stroke of its

pen at once demolished six of these corps, and with them the fears of the Governor-General and his council. That the apprehended sack of Calcutta by the Burmese was not a quiz, it will be difficult to cause belief; but that the Governor-General did really conceive such a catastrophe could possibly, nay, would most probably occur, his declaration, when the war was nearly brought to a close, most unequivocally declares.

Attila at the gates of Rome could not have created greater consternation than did the anticipated visit of Bundoolah, the Burmese chieftain, to the city of palaces. A wag of a banker in Calcutta applied, with all the seeming gravity of his countrymen, to have a place allotted to him in the fort, for the greater security of his treasure: the jest was perceived, but not resented.

The Engineers are as follows: 3 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 3 Majors, 15 Captains, 24 Lieutenants, and 12 second Lieutenants; in all 60 officers. There are no artificers or privates to this corps; but a body of what are termed sappers and miners, is officered from its junior ranks, as a means of preparatory instruction. The officers, in time of peace, are employed in the department of

public works, in the care of fortresses, in the construction of canals, the removal of obstructions in the rivers, and in fact, upon any duty where the attainments of science are required.

The corps can boast of many individuals possessing conspicuous talents, which, whenever opportunity has offered, have called forth the marked approbation of the Government. Unluckily for the greater proficiency of the officers, these opportunities have been very few; and with the exception of Bhurtpoor, no place has been besieged in form since Seringapatam. Hatrass, in 1817, was bombarded and surrendered immediately. The corps of engineers at Bhurtpoor, numbered as many as eighteen officers; but these came to it with diversified ideas: the opinions of the younger portion were opposed to the matured notions of the elder part, to whom the march of intellect was an *ignis fatuus*. The difference ended by a leaning towards the opinions of the younger officers, who, "with means and appliances to boot," exercised themselves so assiduously in their vocation, that the troops walked in very comfortably, over a breach made by an explosion of ten thousand pounds of powder!

It is not presumed to throw the slightest shade over the plan of operations, or of the execution of their details, at the siege of that fortress; for it was from a long absence of real practice, and the suddenness of the occasion, that the Engineer corps had not the fairest field for the display of its high qualifications. Its officers had been employed in constructing bridges, in surveying and excavating canals, in making roads, and in various other duties not immediately connected with their own line. So it was with the Sappers and Miners: the men of this corps originally came from Woolwich, fully educated for their work; but soon after their arrival, the Government deprived them of all prospect of being useful in their particular department at a future time, by sending them to make roads, clear neglected canals, and never had the foresight to exercise them in their professed duties. Thus, when the corps was required at Bhurtpoor, there were none in it conversant with mining according to the European system, and it was therefore found necessary to employ natives not in the service, for a work of such positive vital importance.

The salaries of the Engineer corps are on a liberal scale, indeed all, save the juniors, are in

situations of good income. This is as it should be; for it is alleged that their education must be an expensive one, and their talents and acquirements justify increased pay, especially as the advantages of the general staff are not within their range.

The Engineers have, until very lately, felt the results of slow promotion in the upper grades, and even now are behind the corresponding ranks of the other branches of the service. The Sappers and Miners amount to 720 men, officered, as has been already said, by the junior ranks of the engineers, for whom it forms a school of initiation into the work and manners of the Natives, from whence, according to proficiency or interest, they succeed to the charge of the various offices to which they may be eligible.

CHAPTER IV.

The Pioneers.—Irregular Cavalry.—Their Evolutions.—Skinner's Horse.—Impolitic measure.—Colonel Skinner's rank.—Irregular Native Infantry.—The Hill Corps.—Their favourite weapon.

THE Pioneers are a fine and devoted body of men, who have, on many occasions of arduous and desperate enterprise, evinced heroic courage. In peace, their duties are confined to labour on the roads, or the works in progress upon the fortresses. The strength amounts to 740 men, in eight companies, each having attached to it, and in command, an European officer of the line.

THE IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

These corps were introduced during the wars of Lord Lake, in 1803 and 1804. A procla-

mation of Lord Wellesley's had brought over to the British many European and Anglo-Asiatic officers from the services of the Native powers; pensions and protection were offered upon the condition of their leaving those who gave them employment. Colonel Skinner, the son of a British officer, had served with reputation and success, under Perron and De Boigne, two French officers in command of Scindeah's forces.

In those times an officer of talent and enterprise could not fail of rising to importance, the field being occupied by so few candidates; and it was not unfrequently the case that an adventurer, from a concatenation of favourable circumstances, arrived at the possession of power and wealth, adequate to the command of respect from neighbouring chiefs, the complete dependence of his own followers, and to the loss and annoyance of those unable to resist his aggressions. An adventurer in those unsettled times, if he possessed skill and enterprise, would never fail to collect around him men whose fortunes consisted in their arms and horses, and whose consciences, less narrowed by prejudices than those of moss troopers, gave them no uneasiness as against whom they were to exert their energies (for their hands

were against every man's), and who only looked with eagerness to the anticipated harvest in the sack of a neighbouring city, or the plunder of an enemy's camp.

Colonel Skinner had passed his life in the active school of Mahratta warfare, but, upon the occasion above mentioned, came over to the British. He was commissioned to raise an irregular corps by Lord Lake, which he effected immediately, and brought into action. His zeal and activity were duly appreciated by his discerning chief, who, at the close of operations, prevailed upon the Government to bestow a large jagheer, or grant of, land upon Colonel Skinner, in reward of his gallant conduct and meritorious services. Colonel Skinner still retains the command of his corps, the headquarters of which are at the Fort of Hansi, ninety miles north-west of Delhi.

The number of these corps has of late years been much reduced; they now amount to five only; and, with the exception of the first, which is "Skinner's horse," are officered from the cavalry and infantry, each with a commandant, second in command, adjutant and medical officer. The duties in peace are principally detached ones, such as Resident's escorts,

treasure escorts, &c.; but those attached to the frontier forces are kept together.

The arms of these corps are matchlocks, lances, swords, and shields. In the exercise of these weapons the men are extremely expert: and, among the feats which they accomplish, as part of their exercise, is shooting, when at full speed, at a bottle, either on the ground, or suspended from a pole; extracting, by the point of a spear, a tent-peg, strongly imbedded, also at full gallop; firing at each other; attack, defence, with sword and spears. To those who have never witnessed the perfection to which constant exercise may arrive in these evolutions, the narration may carry with it something of the marvellous. But it is quite true that the bottle is often cracked, even by the wine-abstaining Moslem, and the peg borne off on the point of the irregular horseman's spear. In war they act as Cossacks, form advance and flank parties, being from education better adapted for those duties than the regular cavalry. Though they are excellent troops for the service required, they cannot be placed in competition with the regular cavalry; they have not the discipline, order, or regularity of the former.

Skinner's certainly bear the palm of excellence from the other irregulars. They differ in dress, and present a more imposing appearance than their comrades. The dress is a yellow vest coming down to the knees, with a spencer sort of jacket, of the same colour, bordered with black lamb-skin. A skull cap of iron, something like a helmet, having a sliding bar as a nose guard, forms the head-piece; the coats are sometimes quilted with cotton, which has the merit of damping the ardour of a sword cut. Altogether the dress and arms are warlike and very picturesque, and are such as are seen in illuminated MSS. of the Life of Timor, as being the costume of his Tartar cavalry.

The clothing, arming, mounting, and pay of this body may be mentioned. The horseman, on his enlistment, brings with him his horse and arms, which must be perfect in all respects; the clothing is furnished by the commandant, who is allowed by Government a certain sum for each man. The horse and arms belonging to the rider are of the "penny wise" system: which, if it prevents him bringing the worst animal he can find, or the most inefficient arms, holds out the strongest motive for the exercise of the better part of valour, discretion, in

the use and risk of them in the hours of trial and danger. The allowance made for a horse killed in action, is not adequate to the replacing another in all ways suitable to the interests of the service.

Skinner's horse have had peculiar advantages. The men are located round their chief at Hansi and at Belespoor; many of them are his tenants; and the claim of a relative to succeed to a vacancy is always preferred to any other applicant: this, together with a paternal system of kindness, has secured their most devoted gratitude. Not so with the other corps of irregular horse; they have been wanderers all over Hindoostan, and have changed their officers many times since they were embodied; while Skinner's have had their head-quarters always at Hansi, their colonel's house for a centre, and himself constantly with them. The second corps was sent to Arracan during the Burmese war: the mortality was dreadful; and even if death had not cut off both man and horse, neither of them could have proved of any use in the rice-fields of that charnel-house of our possessions in the East, where, if an inch of hard soil is to be found, it is "full five fathom deep;" but sending Gardner's horse to Arracan, was of the unmingled yarn of the Burmese war.

The irregular horse, notwithstanding they have done the state some service, are viewed with jealousy by officials possessing influence with the Government, and many endeavours have been made to disband them entirely. Independently of the injustice of this proceeding (without due remuneration), it is unwise, for it will be turning loose a large body of men, who have been made acquainted with those principles which have gotten us an empire, and which, if imparted to the Native powers, may at a future time prove the cause of disaster; while at the present, if such men are turned adrift upon the world, without the means of acquiring subsistence in an honest calling, they will, without doubt, from their necessities, be tempted to supply them by plunder and rapine.

War and its relations are widely different in Asia from what they are in Europe; the people and their habits are as opposite as light and darkness. The conduct of the Government, which sought the services of these men in time of need, ought to be regulated by its character, and the implied if not declared obligation, rather than by the usages of European countries, and the motives originating in parsimonious retrenchment. They were retained

in pay for years, and on a sudden the evil came upon them: they enlisted under the Company's banner at a time when their services were of a two-fold value; they were prevented from being a positive evil to the Company by taking part with the enemy, and by their fighting in our ranks they rendered us essential service. It must not be forgotten that these men were soldiers at the time of enlistment, and were as well able to act the part of foes, active and zealous in their vocation, whether the theatre of their action was the provinces of the Company or those of its adversaries. They were not told that when no longer required they might shift for themselves: had such been the case, not a man would have put foot in stirrup for the Company's salt. They were restrained by British pay and discipline from following their habits of plundering, which, in a native army, animates every one to enterprise and risk.

In speaking of the merits of the irregular horse, it is only required to adduce proofs: Colonel Skinner, as a farther reward for long, zealous, and faithful services, received from the King, through the recommendation of the Commander-in-chief, the rank of Local Lieutenant-colonel, together with the Companion-

ship of the Bath. This particular instance of honour and rank being bestowed upon an officer in Colonel Skinner's situation, gave, it may be said, universal pleasure both to the King's and Company's army, of which hundreds of congratulatory letters are the best proofs. The Bengal Government in 1828, however, had the boldness (to say the least, to the Court of Directors) to protest against this exercise of favour, and requested that the rank assigned to Colonel Skinner might be withdrawn, interfering as it undoubtedly would with that of their own officers: disclaiming at the same time, in a reproachful tone, any participation in an act which it recklessly asserted had excited general disgust in the army. The Court, to its honour, gave the Local Government what is termed, in familiar parlance, "the devil to eat:" it approved highly of the rewards which an old and meritorious officer had received, and reminded the Government of what had apparently escaped its apprehension, that it was his Majesty who had graciously accorded the honours to deserving worth, and not the Court of Directors; at any rate, the latter participated most cordially in the feelings of his Majesty's Government, and directed that no act of the Government

should in any way militate against Colonel Skinner's enjoying the full immunities of His Majesty's most gracious consideration.

So much for the liberal feeling on the part of the then Government, and its Military adviser. A local Major of Skinner's horse is a gentleman in the civil service, and who, without disparagement to that talented body, unhappily turned the current of his genius, at once warlike, brave, and skilful, from its natural course, when he entered the "civil" branch of the service. He has on many occasions accompanied his corps to the field, in which his companions in arms have witnessed his capacity as a commander, and his cool, determined daring in personal exploits. Like his Commandant, he is universally regarded by the men of his corps.

The Irregular Native Infantry is now in nine corps, the number of men about 5800. They are officered from the Line, having a Commandant, second in command, and Adjutant. The embodying of these corps was the policy of those Governors who best knew the secret to govern well, and with the greater chance of security. Such were the motives of Lord Hastings, to whose order most of these regiments owe their formation. They are local

corps, though upon emergencies they have volunteered to a distance. Being composed of the inhabitants of newly-conquered provinces, they serve two essential purposes, at once to keep order and regularity, and as a means to prevent the disturbance of the province by turbulent characters, who find in this judicious policy a respectable and congenial opening afforded to their energy and enterprise, by taking military service in the rank of their new masters.

Some of these corps are essentially military, others are merely armed bodies: the duties of the latter are the conservation of the peace and the execution of police matters; furnishing guards over treasuries and places of confinement, &c. The Nurseeree and Sirmoor battalions are in the interior of the hills, at the foot of the Great Himalaya.

The late war in Ava gave rise to the Assam regiment and the Mug levy. The hill corps are very efficient troops. The mountaineers of the Himalaya, as in other parts of the world, maintain a pre-eminence over the inhabitants of the plains, for energy, activity, and courage; the two former being, perhaps, the effect of climate, and producing the latter. Though of small stature, they are strong and agile, and

with apportioned arms can march well, and undergo great fatigue; added to which, they are free from the many enthralments of superstition and custom, which shackle the Hindoo of the provinces. The Kookree, or knife, is their favourite weapon; but the Government has sagely armed them with fusees, and has taught them to rely upon the superior advantages of the bayonet; though, like the Highlanders, their predilection for the knife (a sort of claymore) is still cherished: at close quarters it is formidable, but not equal to a broadsword. In bivouacking, stockading, and the more harmless occupation of household matters, building, hewing, &c. the natives are very expert in the use of this their peculiarly national weapon.

CHAPTER V.

Frontier Forces.—Inadequacy of Numbers.—Weakness of the Army.—Parsimony of the Government.—General Officers.—Interpreters.—Qualifications for Interpreters.—Salary of Interpreters.—Governor-general.—Commander-in-chief.—Pay of the Staff of the Army.—Pay of the Army.—Staff Appointments.—Departments of the Staff.—Military Service of the Company.

THE Bengal army is in seven great divisions, each commanded by a general-officer, having a staff in all the required branches. There are, besides, what are termed "Frontier Forces;" these are cantoned on the outskirts of the empire, and are kept always in a state of complete readiness to act at a moment's notice: they are composed of cavalry, horse-artillery, and infantry, and may be said to be the *élite* of the army. There are also garrisons and district stations, the latter usually occupied by detachments from the nearest divisional head-quarters.

The present amount of troops is by no means

adequate to the duty required, particularly the Native part, which, from the details of garrisons, treasure-parties, escorts of stores, and officers, leave the Sepoy little or no time which he can call his own. The force is altogether unequal to so large an extent of territory; and it has been proved, in a very recent instance of a disturbance in the jungles between Ramgheer and Ragpore, that to afford assistance to one face of the country, another was obliged to be exposed. It was with some difficulty, and much delay, that men could be assembled from different points at a distance, to crush the manifestation of a "vicious" dislike to the imposition of a tax by the Indian Government.*

The force at Barrackpore in the beginning of 1830, and it has not been subsequently increased (if even the duties have been diminished), consisted of six Native Infantry corps.

* This force was assembled in the extreme heat of the hot weather, and in the known most unhealthy part of the country; the consequence was the deaths of several of the European officers—as many as four gallant spirits were snatched away at one fell swoop from one Native corps alone. If those who project were obliged to make these campaigns, there then might be fewer of them—there is a pretty considerable difference in concocting and performing.

Barrackpore is sixteen miles from Fort William, which is garrisoned by the troops at the former place, the terms of guard monthly. From a statement acquired on the spot, the following may be relied on:—The aggregate strength of the force ought to have been 119 Native officers and 4541 men; whereas from reasons of sickness, absence on furlough, staff employ, and wanting to complete the establishment, amounting to 16 Native officers, and 1142 men absent, the actual strength was only 103 officers and 3399 men.

The number, strength, and description of guards, were thirteen Native officers and 818 Sepoys for Fort William, *monthly;* three Native officers and 255 Sepoys for station-guards, *weekly;* one Native officer and 146 Sepoys on command, *i. e.* from their corps; seven Native officers and 359 Sepoys as regimental guards, *daily;*—total, twenty-four Native officers and 1578 Sepoys, which, from the above number, leaves seventy-nine officers and 1821 men off duty.

The above observations upon the weakness of the army, and the consequent harassing movements of detachments, discipline, and drill, may be applied to the other stations of the Bengal Presidency, except the frontier

forces; they are certainly in a more perfect state, and ready for equipment, than the rest of the troops. The fact is, these commands are far away from the wearing and disagreeable duties which are the subject of complaint by their less fortunate positioned brethren, on *full* duty and *half* batta. The maxim of every one being worthy of his hire, viz. work, is inverted by the "sages of the East." To do the Sepoys but strict justice, they are a patient and willing soldiery, and with only justice and kindness administered to them, will prove faithful to the end. The officers of the Bengal army will acknowledge the truth of this assertion, which, as far as personal observation of some years has served, the writer boldly advances.

The parsimony of the Government has cut down the army far below its proper limits, while by contemporaneous abolishments and reductions in the local and provincial corps, it has now thrust upon the regulars the multifarious and ill-assorted duties of police, escorts, prison-guards, &c. all ill-suited and unworthy of the profession. If it was permitted to be an army, and its energies not allowed to be frittered away in an infinity of small detachments, the numbers would be ample for the security of the country; but no considerable

force could be assembled at a given point without leaving some other, now occupied, vulnerable to attacks.

The appointment of the Company's general officers is by the Government, seniority proving in most cases the only claim: the Commander-in-chief locates them to the different divisions: they continue on the staff four years, when they are obliged to retire to make way for others. Nor can they return again to the active duties of the profession, were they able from physical strength, or desirous from inclination to perform them. They abdicate entirely; and it may be said their military life dies a natural death—an unnatural one it is deemed by many.

There is, however, one exception to this; which is, that general officers, after quitting the command of divisions, are permitted to hold the command of garrisons; but beyond them and their quota of troops, do not exercise any control. The Adjutant-general's, Quarter-master-general's, and Judge-advocate's departments are those only which the cupidity of the Government has left to the nomination of the Commander-in-chief; but even all these appointments require the sanction of the Governor-General, who, indeed, has much to say in the

appointment of the heads of each. The officers of the irregular corps and regimental staff appointments are within the patronage of the Commander-in-chief, but the latter situations ought, in justice to the service, to be left to the recommendation of the commanding officers of corps. For the situation of Interpreter and Quarter-master, a candidate must bring a grammatical, critical, and colloquial knowledge of at least *three* languages, that in any country in the world would qualify him for a Professor's chair; and yet the emoluments do not nearly equal the expense of attainment, and the time and trouble given up and incurred, unless Fortune stands the Tyro's friend, and helps him to higher preferment.

The following is a transcript of the regulations of Government upon interpreterships. The candidate is required to have, 1st. a well-grounded knowledge of the principles of grammar; 2dly, to possess a colloquial knowledge of the "Oordoo"* and "Hindooee," to enable

* "Oordoo," or camp language, is a mixture of Arabic, Persian, and Hindooee. It is a written language only as concerns the Europeans: it was first established as a conventional means of communication at Delhi, by the people of the various nations who resorted to its market to dispose of their commodities. It is, as observed, a colloquial language,

him to explain with *facility* and at the *moment any order* in those dialects, and to *translate* reports, letters *from them into English;* 3rd, to be able with facility to render the "*Bāgobahar*" in "Oordoo," the "Prem Sāgur" in "Khurreebolee," and the "Anwar i Soheilee" (here are three distinct languages) into English; 4th, to be able to write the modified Persian character of the "Oordoo" and the "Dēo Nagree" of the "Khurreebolee," and this is to be ascertained by a *written translation* into Hindoostanee (in both characters) of certain general orders.

and is understood from the plains of Tartary to Cape Comorin—but by the labours of that Leviathan of oriental literature, Dr. Gilchrist, Europeans have had for some time the benefit of its being put to paper; and hence the means are offered of obtaining grammatical accuracy in the acquirement of it.

"Persian" is the Court language of India, and is also used in the Law Courts.

"Hindooee" is the primitive language of the country, nearly related to the Sacred Sanscrit.

"Khurreebolee" is another name for the "Hindooee."

The character of the Hindooee language is termed Déo Nagree, and is entirely different from the Persian, which is a modification of the Arabic.

The Persian "Shekust," or broken hand, unaccompanied by the diacritical points, is "enough to puzzle a conjuror:" long practice alone can master it.

The Interpreter, fifthly, should be able to read and translate the *Shekust* (or broken hand of the Persian); and *finally* he should be acquainted with the ordinary forms used by the natives of India, in their "intercourse and correspondence towards superiors, equals, and inferiors."

The *quid pro quo* is this: in 1814, the staff pay of an Interpreter was 62 rupees per mensem, and 190 for contracts; out of which he was permitted to apportion to himself any thing in his power, provided the service was performed in all ways required. In 1814, the qualifications of an Interpreter were not those above stated, and an utter ignorance of Persian and Bengally was not a bar to obtaining the situation.

In 1829, when with the new regulations came forth the reductions, the contracts were lessened to 116 rupees, the staff salary to 62. The duties of the office (as most clearly defined in an appended page to the qualifications), if performed assiduously, must occupy the holder of the place every leisure moment from parade hours: and yet, for the trouble, expense of time and money (for now there are no rewards as of yore), the happy incumbent sees himself, with added and very responsible duties, rewarded with 62 rupees per month; from which, too, as

a mounted officer, he is obliged to keep a horse. Recent orders from the Court compel the authorities in India to be observant of the regulations respecting the appointment of officers to the staff, both as to qualifications, and the number permitted to be absent from a corps at one time.

Each succeeding Governor-General has contrived to relieve the Commander-in-chief of that which may have been supposed to give him trouble in dispensing, or what they considered more advisable to be in their own hands. As it is, the Commander-in-chief is shorn of those beams which once irradiated him into a person of some consideration, and his patronage is so restricted in appointments, or confined in such channels, as to leave *him* very little to bestow upon the merits of the army. Much of this arose from the two offices being joined, as in the case of Lord Hastings; and care not being taken to discriminate to which of the characters of the one chief the appointments ought to have appertained; but the consequence is, that the Commander-in-chief has only a contracted power to reward the talents, gallantry, or zeal of those under his orders.

The Governor-General, compared with the

Commander-in-chief, is little connected with the army, and cannot be so intimately acquainted with the claims and pretensions of its officers. He has, moreover, the patronage of the civil service, and of the many valuable situations held by uncovenanted servants, the high political offices all over India, as also the nominations to the native services; and one would deem these enough to satisfy any ordinary person: but, like the possession of great wealth, they serve but to whet the appetite for more. It is merely contended to place the Commander-in-chief on a commanding point, from which he could dispense rewards to the army as a stimulus to its continued good conduct; for what means are so powerful as the hopes of reward? The fear of punishment, which is allotted to be in the province of the Commander-in-chief, serves only to make him a bugbear to the army, as it most assuredly lessens his desired importance: it is known full well, that he has not the power to patronize desert, and all eyes are consequently turned to the Governor-General.

There are only two King's General Officers employed on the Bengal Presidency, and there are only four others of the Royal troops who are permitted to enjoy the advantages of staff

employ in Bengal; their duties belonging solely to the details of the King's forces. As the objection to the injustice of the exclusion of the King's officers, and their claim to a participation in the employment of the staff, will be set forth in another place, comments upon the unfair and illiberal restrictions need not now be prolonged.

The staff of the Bengal army is paid liberally, and compared with the officers, doing in all and every way more disagreeable and troublesome duties, it is overpaid: not that the staff is too highly considered, and that its advantages outweigh desert. No; it is meant that the great bulk of the army is very inadequately paid, not only to its work, but its wants. The staff situations are considered as the perquisites of the Governor-General, and are bestowed as the advantages arising from patronage warrant they should be. If any one doubts this, let him take the list of staff situations, and inquire how many of the two hundred and fifty places were attained by any acts of the incumbents, which for gallantry, zeal, intelligence, or character, raised them in their good fortune so far above their fellows.

Turn we to the obverse side of the picture,

and let the ranks be scrutinized to ascertain how many are the instances in which long and zealous services, tried but *modest* gallantry, in fact everything which constitutes the efficiency of a soldier, are ineffectual recommendations to the notice of those who have the "good to give." This is as unpalatable to the feelings of brave men, as it is manifestly injurious in its effects upon the well-being of the service. The junior ranks of the army have not sufficient upon which to subsist, and the seniors are not paid in proportion to their periods of service.

The operation of the half-batta order is here remembered. It never entered into the heads or the hearts of the framers of this order, to conceive that an officer, after some fifteen or twenty years' service, might happen to have a family dependant upon him for support, and this too under the already ruinous rate of exchange between India and England, which sweeps away at once nearly one-third of his pay. The staff ought to be considered as the fund from which merit could be rewarded; for if the whole army was placed on an equal footing, there would be no spur to activity or enterprise; but as it is, the staff is the private

patronage of the chief. Merit is no sure road to the acquisition of its advantages; but he who possesses family interest or connexions, may, with the slenderest thread or straw of patronage, triumph in the possession of that which many have been for years looking to obtain. Many of the staff appointments are disproportionably paid; the distribution should be more equal for the satisfaction of the army.

It is an error to suppose that curtailing the numbers, though even at the same time enlarging the salaries of places, acts beneficially to the army at large, which looks to them as within the chances of each one's fortune to acquire. Men are fully able to discern the prospect they have of attaining their wishes, in opposition to those who possess greater influence, or those whose hopes and expectations fall short of their own; and the numbers of ungratified expectants of course greatly exceed those whose desires are happily accomplished. This should cause a greater number of rewards being available, which might be effected by equalizing those of less from those of larger amount.

The general staff, under the present system, bears heavily upon the ranks, and must necessarily impair the efficiency of the army. In 1829, three subalterns were struck off each

cavalry and infantry corps, when every one but the Court of Directors considered an addition rather than a diminution necessary. Many of the departments of the staff are in no ways analogous to the duties or the character of soldiers, and in Europe are carried on by civilians and others wholly distinct from the profession, such as the Pay Department, Auditor Generals, Commissariat, Public Works, Studs and Clothing-board, Political, Civil, and Miscellaneous Employ, and Judge-Advocate General. Not one of these need be filled by a soldier; but to dispossess the present occupiers, or not to continue the appointments to the army, would be adding fuel to the fire, and increasing the deprivations of a gallant and worthy body of men. An augmentation would be the most desirable mode; this should be formed into two or three skeleton corps, from which officers could be sent to replace others ordered to the staff, on leave, or whenever absent from their regiments. The present low total of the officers makes the staff a heavy burthen, although a well-organized staff is absolutely necessary to the well-being and efficiency of an army.

The Company's officers are entitled to a furlough to England after ten years service in India; the period is for three years, during

which the officer draws his full pay. At the termination of twenty-two years' service in India, he is entitled to retire upon the full pay of his rank. Should sickness compel him to make a voyage to his native climate, full pay is granted for three years, and in no case can he remain more than five years from the Indian shores, without the especial permission of the Court, and the Board of Controul. On the whole, the military service of the Company was, until lately, thought most highly of by all. It possesses still great advantages to the younger branches of the nobility and gentry of England, if blessed with alliances and means to gather the good things at the disposal of the "powers that be." But to any one not shadowed with such influence, or not possessing within himself merit and talent to thrust his way, the Company's service is anything but what it was, or ought to be.

The great bulk of the profession drag on a painful and oftentimes laborious life of exposure to the climate and its peculiar diseases, far from home and its kindred sympathies, with little to enable the pilgrim to render himself comfortable, and at last, when the time of his servitude has expired, all that he can claim is the full pay of his rank,—and this is seldom

even of the grade of Major, unless he waits till the lamp of life glimmers in the socket. When his friends and kinsmen are either "departed hence," or, from his long absence from home, are become as strangers to his heart, he arrives at the off-reckonings of a regiment; with a crazy constitution, if not entirely gone, bile overflowing, unknowing and unknown, he lingers out the remainder of his days, which even the wealth he may chance to possess has no power either to render happy, or to impart interest to. The last scene generally closes upon him at Bath or Cheltenham.

Promotion by brevet is extended to the Company's, whenever one is given to the King's army. It is also bestowed upon individuals for meritorious conduct. No higher rank than Lieutenant-general, however, is accorded. In 1829 the brevet of Colonel was given to all Lieutenant-colonels Commandant indiscriminately. For this there was no occasion. It is true, the seniors who acquired the rank of full Colonel were of length of service to have entitled them to even a higher grade; but the dates of their Lieutenant-colonelcies were of 1814. Lieutenant-colonels of that year in the Royal army are still Lieutenant-colonels. Lieutenant-colonels of the Company's army

who succeed to corps, immediately become full Colonels.

But the bungling absurdity is yet to be told. This boon was not to militate against the King's officers; and to prevent them from being superseded, they were ordered to be promoted also; so every King's Lieutenant-colonel, whose commission was of equal date to the Company's Lieutenant-colonel last promoted to Colonel, was also to have the rank. For a long time the Line had a faster run than the Cavalry, Engineers, or Artillery, and none were promoted but the former. In the course of promotion, more than one-half of the King's Lieutenant-colonels became Colonels; but, be it known, without one jot of benefit one way or another: they had, however, to pay for the fees for the local commission. Presently, a Lieutenant-colonel of Engineers, of very late date, but long service, succeeds to the off-reckonings. Immediately he jumps over the heads of his seniors in the three other branches, and, as a working out of the rule, every King's officer of the Engineer's date jumps over the others also. This last promotion leaves scarce a Lieutenant-colonel in the King's army in Bengal. The honours of the Bath and Knight-

hood are bestowed with no niggard hand upon the Company's officers; indeed, they appear to acquire more consideration at the hands of the Government in England through the local Government, than they do from those of their Honourable Masters themselves.

CHAPTER VI.

Patronage of the General Staff enjoyed by the Company's Officers.—Objections to the Employment of the King's Army.—Objections answered.—The Military Board.—The Military Secretary.—Adjutant-General's Department.—Quarter-Master-General's Department.—Judge-Advocate-General's Department.—Commissariat Department.—Surveyor-General's Office.

On the score of the Company's officers enjoying the whole of the patronage of the General Staff of the Army, and the injustice of the exclusion of the King's officer to share in it, the following remarks are submitted to the consideration of the reader.

The Company's officer urges against the King's officer being employed on the General Staff of the combined army: First, that he does not belong to that army, which is purely a colonial one, and belonging to the country. Secondly, that he cannot be supposed to care much about it, or to be acquainted with its system, discipline, and regu-

lations. Thirdly, that he does not understand the language, usages, religion, and prejudices of the Natives. Fourthly, that the King's officer has open to him the double rewards of honour and rank, which are sealed things to the Company's officer. Fifthly, that his stay in India is voluntary, he being able to return to England on his private affairs, or with his corps, or by exchanging into another regiment; and with these advantages, he is not bound, as the Company's officer is, to remain ten years before he can claim his furlough; and that he is not obliged to serve twenty-two years before he can claim the pension on his retirement from the service.

To all of the above objections, and any others which may be advanced, the following answers are offered to the impartial judgment of those uninterested in the matter. The King's and Company's officers are Whigs and Tories; he who is out strives to get in, while he in possession desires to remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of plenty and comfort. First, then, although the King's officer does not actually belong to the army of the country, and is liable to be moved to any part of the world, let it be asked —how long has been the actual period of the service of King's corps in India? Take the

twelve last which have returned to England, and the answer will be,—the period of service of each has exceeded twenty years; some have even extended to twenty-three; and with the regiment have come back to their native country some few officers who accompanied it on its first arrival on the Indian shores, but which, however, from circumstances they had never been able to leave. With such positive experience, farther remark is unnecessary..

To objection the second. It is true, that the King's officer has no very inviting motives for his caring about a matter with which he has no concern, which imparts to him no interest, and which he can only regard as one of an excessively illiberal nature towards himself. It is unfair to throw in his teeth his want of feeling for a subject, and as a reason for depriving him of the advantages accruing from a knowledge of it—that he is entirely ignorant, part and parcel, of all its bearings. But the fact is otherwise. What were Coote, Clive, Lake, Hastings; and those of the present day, Smith, Watson, and Campbell, *cum multis aliis?* Were they ignorant of the Sepoys and the system and discipline necessary to be observed?

To the third objection. It is also most true;

that the King's officer can discover no opening to enterprise, no inducement to exertion, no reward for zeal, while serving in the dominions of the Company. But as for knowledge of the languages, — comprehending the usages and peculiarities of the Natives,—the King's army, for its numbers, and having nothing to stimulate its members to distinction but their own individual and honourable feelings, has shown up to the admiration of the Company's army several whose attainments have been of a pre-eminent character; and this, too, not in the sunshine of patronage, but uncheered by the expectation, or even the hope of reward.

To the fourth objection. On the score of honours and rewards, what is there within the possibility or probability of the King's officer obtaining, which is not equally within the power of the Company's officer to acquire, unless he would, with an affectation of gravity unbecoming the subject, adduce the peerage being open solely to the officers of the Royal forces. Here again facts are worth tomes of discussion. The same service is required of the King's and Company's officers, and the same dangers by flood and field, the breach, and more than all, the destructive climate, attend them equally. But the matter-of-fact,

the sole and all-cheering restorative "of argent comptant," is curtailed of its fair proportions.

But have honours been solely bestowed on King's officers? The talents of an Ochterlony, a Close, a Munro, have claimed for those officers baronetcies. (Is it that peerages were deemed but a fair meed?) Are the honours of the Bath confined to one or two individuals? Is knighthood unknown to the Company's officers? * Has brevet rank not been more extended to the Company's army, than it has to the King's army in any other part of the globe?† And here let a passing remark occupy a moment. The rank to Company's officers, though *strictly local*, is too highly prized for the positive advantages it brings, not to be retained and made use of on all occasions in England and on the Continent; and where is the objection? The King's officer would gladly hail them as brother officers and comrades in all parts of the world; but let us meet on

* There are at this moment distributed among the Company's officers the following grades of the Bath; viz.

1 Grand Cross.

15 Knight Commanderships.

62 Companionships.

There are five officers enjoying the honours of Knighthood.

† *i. e.* making all Lieutenant-colonels Commandant full Colonels.

equal terms; a *pleasant intercourse* ought to spring from mutual good feelings and fellowship, and a community of interests.

The fifth objection, though seriously put forth, has something supremely ridiculous in it. The Company's officer says, with as much gravity as if he believed it, that the King's officer's stay in India is purely voluntary. Just as much is it as that of the Company's officer; or rather it may be said to be infinitely less so. A King's officer cannot leave the country but by the permission of the Commander-in-chief, and only in the case of sickness is his passage paid; this boon, the sole one not yet withheld, is restricted to subalterns. The Company's officer, of whatever rank, can claim assistance from the Military Fund, if he is a member of that excellent institution, and his claims are allowed. The option of exchanging would entail ruin upon ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. If the King's officer could find any one so deranged as to take his place, the former must possess the means of paying his own passage home, and that to India of the officer exchanging with him. The pagoda tree has been too well shaken to put it within the power of the King's officer to effect this, which to the Company's officer seems so very easy a matter.

It has been seen how long the average period of service is of a King's corps; and the opening this mode offers to the King's officer's convenience is like angels' visits. The Company's officer can, at the expiration of *ten* years, *claim* a furlough of three years on full pay; and nothing but a state of war can prevent the Government according its acquiescence to the demand.* A King's officer, even if encumbered with private affairs, may wait till his patience is exhausted before he receives permission to depart. He has no claim to leave of absence, and it is in all things a matter of indulgence on the part of his chief, subject to the exigencies of the service. So much in answer to the objections.

The King's army knows itself to be the sword which at this moment (as it ever has done) retains the command of India. What would have been the result of the mutinies at Vellore and Barrakpore, had not the European troops quelled both of those most promising disasters? Would Greek have met Greek in the persons of the Sepoys, and could the Com-

* If after thirteen years his health is so impaired as to prevent his recovering in India, he can *claim* the half-pay of his rank. Lieutenant-colonels, Majors, and Captains are entitled to return upon their half-pay whenever they *please*.

pany have calculated upon any of the Native troops being so well affected as to lend their assistance in quieting a matter, in which every one had a personal interest? If the Government thought so, it would have been deceived.*

The Native troops are the most numerous; but it is the European force which forms the bulwark of British power in India, as much against internal as foreign foes. This state of affairs can, however, only last until the people of India and our own armed population arrive at the knowledge of *their* power; and judging from the means afforded to this end, and the want of common precaution to present a corresponding equilibrium those who are entrusted with the local government, this consummation will come *tout à coup.* Distinctions always lead to differences; the King's officer knows that he is unfairly treated. Is it nothing to be exposed to the unpalatable distinction of being less paid, for as fully efficient services, at the same station with the Company's

* The differences between the Madras Government and its European officers in 1809 may here have advertence. The Native soldiery took part with their officers, and, but for the King's troops, another tale might have been told to the Lords in Leadenhall-street.

officer?* If a claim for past services may be admitted, the deeds of the King's army at Seringapatam, Assaye, Laswarrie, Java, Isle of France, Burmah and Bhurtpore, ought to establish something like one to the gratitude of the East India Company, and to support the pretension to the less selfish consideration of the Company's officer.

If it is not conceived just, and in accordance to the mere individual claims of the Company's officer, to throw open the whole of the staff employ to the King's officer, there are many departments, the duties of which they are from education and experience eminently qualified to fill; and these are of a purely military nature—viz. the Adjutant-general's, the Quarter-master-general's, and Survey Department. All offices having financial matters in its province might be expressly and exclusively reserved to the Company's officer.

The different establishments or departments of the Staff are now succinctly reviewed, the

* The Company's native infantry receive half tentage and house rent. The King's officer at the same station is accommodated with quarters, for which the Government deduct half tentage and house rent; viz. for Captain 87 rupees and a half for two rooms; for a subaltern 55 for one room!! These respective sums would more than furnish good houses.

number of officers employed are given, and some remarks upon the principle and system are appended to each. The first department which claims notice, not for its utility or the estimation in which it is held throughout Bengal, is the Military Board. Precedence of mention is accorded to it, because it numbers among its members the Commander-in-chief, the General commanding the Division, and many of the most respected and talented officers who hold the highest and most responsible official situations in the army; but these latter have not time to attend its heterogeneous proceedings. The duties of this "Board" are multifarious, and to all, even itself, quite inexplicable: viz. the building of fortresses; repairs of public works; erection of bridges; superintendence of the barrack department; the huge business of the ordnance, and its accumulated details of charges, repairs, sales and conservation, are within its cognizance and under its orders; besides all these, it has the charge of many matters which ought to be entrusted to others having less weighty occupations. The officers permanently attached are four members, two secretaries, and two assistant secretaries.

The next in order is the Military Secretary to the Government; a secretary and two as-

sistants constitute the number of officers employed. The duties of this office consist in the Correspondence of the local Government with the India House in all matters relating to the military branches of the State, and in promulgating its orders to the army at large. The enlistment and disbandment of troops; the pay, clothing, and quartering of the military force are within the routine of this office; also the issuing of orders to all departments; and no act, order, or rule of any other department is of efficacy, as regards the charge of expense, or the assumption of office or authority, without its first conveying the sanction of the Government.

It may be readily supposed, the responsibility of the chief of this office is great, and involves confidence between the governors and the governed: it will either, from a straightforward, manly, and liberal feeling, in the discharge of the duties, acquire the respect and good opinion of both; or, contrariwise, by a desire to gain the protection and favours of "the powers that be," at the expense of the comfort, the rights, privileges, and immunities of those whose interest the officer holding the situation of Secretary to the Government ought, from his individuality of profession, and long habits

of intercourse, to be attached to, and bound to support, gain to himself the unenviable distinction of hatred and dislike.

The Adjutant-general's department is next in consequence; and it is to this that the discipline and efficiency of the army is entrusted. The establishment consists of the following :—

1. Adjutant-general of the army; although the King's corps are not subject to his interference in their interior economy or details, it is, in common with the rest of the army, under his general observation. The Commander-in-chief is invariably a King's officer, and there is an Adjutant and a Quarter-master-general, for the especial details of the King's troops. The officers employed in this department are,

1 Adjutant-general.
1 Deputy Adjutant-general.
2 Assistant Adjutant-generals.
1 Ditto of Artillery.
4 Ditto, attached to Divisions.
3 Deputy Assistant Adjutant-generals.
12 Brigade Majors.
4 Fort Adjutants.
1 Town Major.

29 Total.

It is allowed by all, that this department has been for many years headed by the ablest officers. It requires, as may be supposed, men of talent, judgment, and discretion; and, as far as prudent, a determination to uphold the honour and interests of the army which are so entirely within his charge. It is lamentable to state that the necessity of the frequency of remonstrance with the Government has been too conspicuous; but what is worse is, that the remonstrances against real and unjust hardships have been of no avail.

The Quarter-master-general's department follows, and this consists of,

1 Quarter-master-general.
1 Deputy ditto.
2 Assistant Quarter-master-generals.
4 Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-generals, 1st Class.
3 Ditto, ditto, 2nd Class.

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11 Total.

The duties are precisely similar to those in Europe. When not required on active service, the officers are sent to survey in the provinces, and upon other duties connected with their line.

The Judge-Advocate-general's department has for its establishment the following :—

1 Judge-Advocate-general.
7 Deputies.

8 Total.

These conduct the jurisprudence of the army, and judging from the number employed, the reader might suppose the army of India not to be in a very palmy state; but, in addition to the European, must be recollected the great body of Native troops: still that which especially conduces to so many being employed, is the wide extent of country occupied. It is no invidious distinction to say, that the department is superintended and conducted by gentlemen conspicuous for talents, education, and character.

The Commissariat is as follows :—

1 Commissary-general.
1 Deputy ditto.
3 Assistant Commissary-generals, 1st Class.
3 Ditto, ditto, 2d Class.
4 Deputy Assistant Commissary-generals, 1st Class.
4 Ditto, ditto, ditto, 2d Class.
12 Sub-Assistant Commissary-generals.

28 Total.

All the field equipments, such as tents and cattle for its carriage and for ordnance purposes, all the provision of supplies for the troops and cattle in camp and quarters, are under the management of this department: the duties comprise multifarious details, and are of great responsibility.

This is paid more liberally than the other branches of the staff, not however more than is justly due, for it certainly is a wise maxim, to pay men sufficiently to induce them to be honest. The furnishing of elephants, camels, the breeding of horses and bullocks, and supplying meat and grain to the troops, belong to this department; the arrangement for the duties, and its complete efficiency on all occasions, have elicited the marked approbation of successive Commanders-in-chief when upon active service in the field; these are the results of a well-regulated system, ably carried into effect by those entrusted with the execution of the details.

In connection with the above is, the Ordnance Commissariat. The duties of this department belong exclusively to the artillery arm of the service: the charge of cannon, supply of gun-carriages, reception and examination of stores from Europe, manufacture of gun-

powder, and the care of the arsenals, are within its surveillance. The officers belonging to this department are taken from the Artillery corps, and are as follows:—

1 Principal Commissary of Ordnance.
1 Deputy do. do.
6 Commissaries of Ordnance.
2 Deputy do. do.

There are attached also,

1 Agent for gunpowder.
1 do. for making gun-carriages.
1 Superintendent of suspension-bridges.
1 Director of the foundry (who is an engineer),

Total 14

The department of Public Works is of very extended limits, and has to perform various duties. It is immediately under the Military Board, with which, however, it does not always jog on in loving cordiality. It has the construction and conservation of all public buildings, both civil and military; barracks, jails, bridges, &c. &c. It is divided into four divisions, each having several provinces within its range: the officers are,

4 Superintendents,
33 Subordinates (denominated, if belonging to that corps "Executive Engineers,") and Executive Officers of Division.

37 Total.

All branches of THE ARMY ARE ELIGIBLE to this department.

The Surveyor-general's office has

1 Surveyor-general of India.
1 Assistant do. do.
12 Surveyors,

Total 14

These are taken from all branches of the army, and are employed in districts newly acquired, or in surveys for the Revenue board: the officers are talented men, and have put the Government in possession of much topographical information, which indeed might as well be laid open to the public. The acquisitions in Central India, the Burmese war, and its consequences, presented a wide field for the investigations of this department, of which its members have fully availed themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

Pay Department.—Military Audit Office.—The Clothing Board. — The Stud Department. — Superintendents of Canals.—Employment of Military Officers.—Staff Officers. —Medical Branch of the Army.—Ecclesiastical Establishment. — Military Orphan Society. — The Military Fund.

The Pay Department comes next. It has the disbursement of the pay of the troops, and all military expenditure is within its range. The duties are made complex and vexatious by the want of a simple system, which should be adhered to. *Orders, counter-orders, reductions, abolishments,* and all the minor devilments of new plans, follow each other month after month, so that the paymaster of a division is as much puzzled to arrive at a correct knowledge of the proper form of the "abstract," size and quality of the paper to be used, as the

officer is who seeks to "draw his pay." Each of the seven divisions has a paymaster: besides these there are paymasters of pensions and family money. The numbers are,—

1 Paymaster at Calcutta.
6 Deputy-paymasters.
5 Agents for family money and pensions.
—
Total 12

Connected with the above, and unhappily exercising too powerful an influence, is the Military Audit Office. From its being subject to no control but the Governor-General in Council, it has taken this advantage to play what pranks it pleases, and, to give all the annoyance and trouble it can contrive, to the great inconvenience, and sometimes serious loss, of the officers of the army. Owing to the want of a clear and intelligible method in the forms prescribed for the drawing of pay, &c. the chances are many against the accuracy of a "Pay Abstract," even if the paymaster does the favour to draw one out. Should the money be paid, the bill goes through the audit office, and there, according to the reading of the clerks or the opinion of one of the assistants, a part is disallowed, and is ordered to be retrenched from a future issue of pay.

Common courtesy, in pointing out the mistake and showing its remedy, seldom enters into the liberality of the Audit Office, and if after writing and squabbling, the matter is made right by the acknowledgment of the officer's claim, a *re-audit* takes place.

It is to be hoped that this office has improved in its manners. There is no department of the Staff which has been so often consigned to the depths below, from the old Colonel of the year 1783 appointment, to the poverty-stricken Cadet of last year's importation. The appointment of Military Auditor General is in the gift of the Court of Directors; and for fear the donors should think the office a sinecure, the officials in it make work for themselves, and thereby "work" the army. They are

1 Military Auditor-General.
1 Deputy ditto, ditto.
2 Assistant ditto, ditto.

Total 4

The Clothing Board is composed of a General Officer, or President, and the high officials of the army as Members. All Colonels of corps, when at their Presidency, have seats at this Board, the duties of which are conducted

by a Secretary and two officers, who are styled Agents for Army Clothing; that is to say, these two last have the charge of making and distribution of the uniforms to the army. The Colonels of corps share yearly a sum of money, under the denomination of "off-reckonings," which, to the old hands, who had two battalions previous to 1824, is "a pretty considerable thing." In 1824 that "pernicious" measure of individualizing each battalion into a separate corps, gave each a Colonel; but the vested rights of the then Colonels were preserved to them. Those of the promotion of 1824 do not benefit by the off-reckonings until one of the "elder born" passes to that bourne from which no traveller returns, and then the receipts are divided between two of the recent promotions. By this mode the advantages are participated by a larger number, though the amount of course is only half as much as formerly. The income of a Colonel, including his pay and off-reckonings, (according to the present system,) may be nearly 1000*l.* a-year.

The Stud Department, for the improvement of horses, is governed by a "Board of Superintendence," composed of some of the high officials, qualified by their knowledge in the mysteries of horse-flesh to give effect to the

establishment. A Secretary conducts the details of the office, and he is the only officer of the Board who enjoys a salary. There are different circles, over which preside

2 Superintendents.
7 Assistants.

Total 9

All matters connected with the breeding of horses for the Cavalry and Horse Artillery are referred to the Board.

The Stud Department is one of large expenditure, which makes as yet but inadequate returns. This is to be accounted for from the mal-arrangement of the home authorities, who, instead of leaving the Indian Government at liberty to follow the plan which experience had pointed out to those whose pursuits had been connected with the breeding of cattle, chose to chalk out the way they themselves thought best. The consequence has been the want of success to the establishment, although so many years have elapsed since its birth. There are three great studs; one in the Ghazepore district, a very large one; one at Haupper, near Meerut; and the third at Hissar, about one hundred miles north-west of Delhi, in a country possessing fine pastures, and celebrated

for its breed of cattle. The controlling power is vested in a "Board of Superintendence for the Breed of Cattle," which has under its orders two Superintendents and seven Assistants. In the Board rests the governance of the stud, all arrangements and improvements, and without their sanction no horse can be admitted, although it has been known that one every way fitted for the purpose has been rejected by the Governor-General, who, among his numerous and high qualifications and farming reminiscences, fancied he knew a bit about horse-flesh. To say the least, it was making very small of the veterans then members, one of whom was the father of the Calcutta turf, and two others were as good judges as Newmarket could ever boast of. The horse in question was an Arab, rather low, but the best four-mile horse of his day, and as strong as a house. The first and great fault of the Directors at home was their not sending out the best cattle to be had for the intended purpose. Not having done this, it will take a long time to get what is required out of the present produce—good horses and mares, the latter being put to Arabs,—thence strong and handsome foals.

The present system is to send out a number of horses into the circles of the divisions, and

every one bringing a mare covenants to tender the produce to the superintendent at a year old for a certain sum, who selects or rejects at pleasure; if the former, they are sent to the stud, and kept there until chosen to remount the cavalry corps. The mares tendered are for the most part not worthy the trouble or expense; but as drafts are required, the produce, though unfit, must sometimes be taken. Now the Company do not send out either horses or mares, but trust to the country supplying both: the consequence again is, that many horses are obliged to be taken which otherwise would be rejected: for instance, a high-bred, but small horse would not be preferred to one larger and having substance with less blood. To show the want of judgment in not sending out the best cattle for stud purposes, the celebrated horse Benedict cost three hundred guineas, and his passage out two hundred more; he has been in India seventeen years, and besides furnishing his owner's mares, averaging thirty-five yearly, has netted him upwards of 20,000 rupees.* His stock are the best in India, and sell from 1200 to 1600 and to 3000 rupees, two-year old colts and fillies.

The stud has now been established some

* His price is 200 rupees.

years, and has not yet been able to pay itself; although the Company sell all horses undersized, and those to which they attach the value of 1000 rupees and upwards. The loss to the state in the expense above its real good, if it were money alone, would not be so great a cause for regret; but the breeding of horses by the Company has entirely stopped the trade which in former years brought large numbers of horses from the Punjab, and the countries north of it, as a supply for the cavalry. Doubtless it is a greater security that we should not be dependant on our neighbours for the annual equipment of the cavalry, but it should have been a prime object to have made that body equal, if not superior, by the change, at a less cost if possible.

The Superintendents of Canals, and matters connected with them, are mostly engineer officers: these are employed upon restoring the canals dug by the Mogul emperors, and in the formation of others in the vicinity of Calcutta; the officers are three Superintendents and three Assistant ditto. Total six.

Military officers are employed in political, civil, and miscellaneous duties, and invariably with advantage to the Government and credit to themselves. Some of the ablest politicians

and revenue officers have belonged to the ranks of the army; and it would be well if military officers were more generally employed in the police department of the Government. The spur of emulation in the performance of duties not immediately connected with their profession, receives an added impetus in the knowledge that they can only retain their stations by fulfilling the expectations entertained; while those who are "bred to the trade," need no controlling power to keep them up to the mark.

It was the remark of a civil servant who had passed his service in the highest and most important offices connected with the Revenue department, that he considered the military officers who had been employed in that branch to be the men most conversant with the theory and practice, and in every way the most efficient public officers. The number of officers in the above employments, and in the Native services, are sixty. The personal staff of the Governor-General, Commander-in-chief, and general officers, average ten. A recapitulation of the number of officers absent from the corps upon Staff duty or other employment is as follows;—

1.	The Military Board	8 officers.
2.	Military Secretary to Government	3
3.	Adjutant-general's Department	29
4.	Quarter-master's Do.	11
5.	Judge Advocate's Do.	8
6.	Commissariat -	28
7.	Ordnance Commissariat	11
8.	Public Works -	36
9.	Surveyor-general's Department	14
10.	Pay Do. Do.	12
11.	Military Audit-office	4
12.	Clothing Board -	3
13.	Canals, and Bridges, and Roads	7
14.	Stud Department -	9
15.	Political, Civil, and Miscellaneous - -	60
16.	Personal Staff, &c. -	10
	Total - - -	253

To the above must be added the number of officers on furlough to Europe, and on leave of absence in different parts of the Indian Seas, and these average at least 250: so altogether there are not less than 500 officers, out of the total 1830, away at one time; leaving a force of 3320 Europeans, and about 60,000 Natives, to be superintended by 1300 officers, the greater

part of whom are in the junior grades. The above computation of absentees is from an average of several examinations of the Army list at different periods.

The Medical branch of the army is composed of 120 Surgeons and 230 Assistant-surgeons. The three seniors of the former rank form a Medical Board, which has the direction and application of the subordinates, in recommending individuals to fill existing vacancies. In this department, as well as in all others of the staff, the patronage of medical appointments in the civil line, is in the gift of the Governor-General; those in the military branch belong to the Commander-in-chief. The eleven next in seniority to the Medical Board are superintending surgeons of circles or divisions. The remaining members are dispersed among the corps of the Army, and in civil appointments.

The members of the Board occupy their stations for four years; and then, if they choose, fall back as superintending surgeons. Subordinate to the medical staff are thirty apothecaries, thirty-five assistant apothecaries, twenty-five stewards, and ten assistant stewards. These, for the most part, are of that class termed Indo-Britons, highly respectable from talents and education; they are generally attached to Euro-

pean corps, small detachments, hospitals, and dispensaries. They are a very intelligent body of men, and are rising rapidly in their profession, from constant practice in its details. There are also fifteen veterinary surgeons for the service of the cavalry and horse artillery.

The Ecclesiastical establishment consists of twenty-six Military Chaplains, as they are termed, and these are appointed to the larger civil and military stations, whenever the European population requires their aid and instruction. They are in the service of the India Company, which appoints from England, and are under the immediate authority of the Bishop and Archdeacon.

There are two establishments connected with the army which deserve notice, and these are the "Military Orphan Society," and the "Military Fund." The Orphan Society is for the reception of the legitimate children of officers who may be left in distressed circumstances. The Commander-in-chief is the Governor, and twelve other officers form a Committee of management. Every officer in the army is compelled to contribute a portion of his pay in aid of this society, which, although deserving of unrelaxed support by every individual, ought rather to owe its existence to the liberal

bounty of the Government, than to the arbitrary enforcement of a sum from its servants; the mode is certainly objectionable with reference to a charitable institution.

The objects of the institution are mostly of Asiatic parentage on the mother's side, and when of an age to settle in the world, generally marry persons in business—warrant officers of the army, and clerks in Government offices and merchants' houses. The boys are bound to trades, or are permitted at a certain age to seek their livelihood as their wishes or bias dictate. The management of the institution reflects the greatest praise on those under whose authority and guidance it is placed.

The "Military Fund" is supported by voluntary contributions, according to the regimental rank of the officer, when perhaps it would be a fairer proceeding to proportion his support to his ability from the amount of his receipts. The Court of Directors give a yearly donation. It is imperative that an officer should declare his intention of becoming a member within a stated time after his arrival in India, failing which, neither he, his wife, nor children, can at any period be admitted to its benefits.

This fund affords assistance in the shape of

yearly pensions to widows, according to the rank of officers deceased; and also to children of those who die unpossessed of a sum which would guarantee the survivors an income equal to the pensions which are granted: these are liberal, and continue to widows until death or their entering into the marriage state, which, by the by, is an unwise regulation, as it conduces to retain a greater charge upon the fund than, under a modification of the present rules, would assuredly be the case. Many must be the instances in which a lady cannot venture to form a second engagement, because prudence will forbid her relinquishing that which places her beyond the reach of inconvenience and anxiety. If the circumstances of the parties put them out of the pale of assistance from the fund, in accordance with the spirit of its rule, all well and good; but it surely would be more politic to reclaim a moiety only of a pension, by permitting the marriage of a person benefiting by the fund, than to lose all by refusing the chances of happiness to the individual, in the protection she acquires to herself and family. The girls deriving aid from the institution, receive it until they marry, or become possessed of property equal to the principal of the pension; the boys until they arrive at eigh-

teen years of age, or are provided for by some professional means.

The fund also affords assistance to officers, under particular circumstances; such as returning to England upon medical certificate, and having no means of their own to defray the expenses of outfit for the voyage. In this case no officer above the rank of subaltern, or assistant-surgeon, is allowed passage-money to England by the Government; which considers, absurdly enough, that a captain and the superior grades can have afforded to put by wherewithal to pay for their passage and other incidental expenses. In all its bearings this fund is worthy of the general and individual support of the army; for the great good that it has done, and the comfort and happiness it has dispensed, are as much within the capability of every one to judge of, as it is within the comprehension of all to appreciate them justly.

CHAPTER VIII.

Situation and Condition of India considered.—Question of the Renewal of the Charter.—Original Object of the Charter.—Land Revenue of India.—The Monopolies of Salt and Opium.—The Tea Trade.—Disputes with the Factory at Canton.—Government of the Company.—Legislative and Executive Government lodged in the hands of the Governor-General and Council.—Influence of the Governor-General.

UNTIL lately India has enjoyed but little consideration with the people of England generally. Her situation and condition were as little known or cared about, as if her vast countries were possessed by others, and not by ourselves. Her inhabitants, her productions, the natural and physical features of her various climes, the arts and sciences, manners, customs, and peculiarities, were, until very recently, topics devoid of interest, if ever a thought was bestowed upon them. At this time, however, we are awaking to a sense of the real situation of both countries; but it is certainly passing

strange, that India, standing in the relation which she does to England, the intercourse of commerce, and the ties of kindred extending almost to every family in the latter country, should have failed to excite enquiry, to ascertain the exact or relative position which she occupies in the great family of nations.

That India has not enjoyed the consideration which ought to have been assigned her, even with reference to the advantages which England experiences from the connexion, is most certain, and that she has suffered by the neglect is most true. Bankrupt and broken fortunes are indeed no longer mended in her once golden regions, nor does she wear her jewelled turban, but we grind her still. The question of the renewal of the Charter to the East-India Company has afforded an opportunity for a deep, extensive, and accurate knowledge of this large portion of the globe, which Providence has entrusted to the protection and governance of Great Britain. There is no way to come at the real state of her condition without a patient and full investigation of the various points of information, derivable from many sources, all of which are at the call of Parliament, if it really desires them.

The Company and its interested advocates have a great stake already risked, and much will

be said by the latter to make the worse appear the better cause; but it is to be hoped that the Select Committee of the House of Commons will not allow itself to be cajoled into a train of belief opposed to truth and circumstances. The question of monopoly in the abstract, no less than in fact, is so much at variance with the genius of commerce, by which, and the free spirit of her constitution, Britain has arrived at the proud eminence she has so long occupied, that it would be a work of supererogation to expose its injurious results, or to desire its demolition. Plighted faith will not be violated in the withdrawal, or rather in refusing a renewal, of the Charter to the Company; the pact has been fulfilled by the nation, though not by the other party, and instead of being a benefit to England, the Charter has proved the contrary.

Nothing now remains but to enter upon a new lease, under different stipulations; and if the old tenant refuses the terms, which will certainly not be the case, the nation will be compelled to till the ground. The India Company has no intention of pettishly giving up the whole, because a part is refused; this would argue an obstinate rejection of individual interests which cannot be laid to its charge; and though by the withdrawal of a

portion of its exclusive privileges, and throwing it open to the enterprise of individuals, one of the props, and perhaps the main one which supports the House, would be taken away, yet others would remain, and afford ample stability if kept in repair by diligent and economical superintendence.

The Charter was given originally for the benefit of the nation, as Queen Elizabeth intimated, and not for the exclusive advantages of the Company. This would indeed have been a solecism in commerce; but where two parties interested have not equal or fair-proportioned shares, there cannot be any injustice in the breaking up of the connexion. If the present East-India Company resolve upon its suicide, few days would elapse before we should see another start into existence; but the present Corporation would do well to reflect, that by temper and moderation alone it can hope to surmount with security the waves of that tide of unpopularity which has been for some time on the flood against its very existence. The Land Revenue of India, if placed upon a proper footing, with reference to the ease and security of the natives, and the fair advantage of the Company, would be the chief source from which its income would be derived; but upon this head

the extravagance of folly has worked its capricious will. Where the permanent settlement has been fixed, the amount of revenue is far short of the ability to pay. On the other hand, where the revenue is assessed for periods, it is on such erring judgment, and bears so heavy on the cultivator, that it leaves him but little for his own subsistence, and completely operates to prevent the reclamation of waste lands by the enterprise of monied individuals.

In the permanent settled provinces, waste-land is unknown, for the simple reason that the people can venture to cultivate the soil, and enjoy the produce. Nothing would so much conduce to the financial benefit of the Government as a fixed settlement, or for a long term, throughout the whole of its possessions. In this case, where the settlement was a fair one, the industry of the people would be exerted, and the benefit accruing would be twofold, to the governors and the governed. But the natives are oppressed almost beyond endurance: still, if a measure like the above were to take effect, it would do more to create a liking and affection for the Government, than any other it has in its power to bestow. The inland trade and transit duties would increase by means of a wider spread of commerce, and the spirit of

emulation which a known posture of affairs would create. The natives are decided enemies to "moving principles," for they have had cause enough to rue the vacillating uncertainty which has in general characterised our Indian policy.

The monopolies of salt and opium are no trifles: each has been as good as three millions sterling; but neither now amounts to so enormous a sum, though each approaches very nearly to two: the salt even exceeds that mark sometimes. Opium is a fair and legitimate source of profit, and no one would quarrel with the Company if it derived even a larger sum annually than it at present does from its sale. The strangest feature of this trade is, that in China, for which country and the Eastern Archipelago it is expressly cultivated, the importation of the drug is strictly prohibited, and in consequence it is only by surreptitious means that its entry is effected into that extraordinary country: those in office and power wink at its introduction, by which they receive large bribes.

Of late years this article has deteriorated in quality and price. Not long since, in consequence of the opium agents in Bengal being remiss in exercising a rigid inspection of the opium tendered by the cultivators, the quality

was so very inferior, that on the detection of its state by the Chinese merchants, the Company, it was stated, was glad to pay nearly 200,000*l.* to pacify the alarm which otherwise would have been raised against its mercantile dealings. The prodigious profits of the trade may be inferred from the necessity of paying so large a sum to induce the Chinese to think no more of the matter.

The salt monopoly is a grievous burthen upon the great bulk of the people, which, impoverished as it is, is but just able to purchase this indispensable article of food. Before it passes through the retailers' hands, a profit of eight hundred per cent. is obtained above the manufacturing price. Ought this to be the case?

It can scarcely be a question, that the Company would gain by permitting others to carry to India the various articles of military stores, and thus save much of the enormous cost of shipping. To the Company the commerce to India proper is a losing concern, and to keep up the shipping merely to carry out stores, is but adding to the embarrassments which are already of too great an amount.

The monopoly of the India Company in trade is confined to that in Tea; for in all other branches of commerce, save those in which

it is bound by its charter to take the manufactures of England, it has surrendered its business to the more enterprising efforts of private merchants. The opening of the trade to India, although under certain restrictions, lessened, of course, the advantages of the Company; but there was no injury to those concerned, except in the contingencies of trade, inseparable from a general attempt to participate in the profits of commerce. The people for whom the interchange of products was made, were as well satisfied to procure their wants at a lessened cost; and now look forward only to a free and unfettered intercourse with every part of the world.

Why should there be a monopoly in the trade of Tea more than in any other article of food? It could do no injury to the consumer, were he enabled to procure it at one-half or two-thirds of the present prices; nor will the revenue suffer a diminution in an increased consumption of this now most general and necessary article; and, as observed by the owner of a sugar plantation, every old woman who may be able to drink a cup of tea, in consequence of the reduced prices, of course will "take sugar with it." Why not constitute West India proprietors a company, with

leave and licence to sell coffee and sugar upon similar terms to those on which the East India Company disposes of its tea?

The former have certainly a fairer claim, as possessing a proprietary right in the soil which produces their wealth. That the commerce of the Company has declined since it became the lord paramount in India, is too positive and stale a matter to be spoken of at this time of day. But great indeed are the profits of the Tea-trade, in the prosecution of which the Company cannot venture to put in practice the absurdities and mismanagement which in India find unhappily so much scope for indulgence. The Tea-trade is divested of any difficulty, save that which springs from the arrogance of the Chinese, or the want of judgment in the Company's servants: and in the barter which takes place, any common observer can judge for himself as to the merits of the manner in which it is carried on.

In addition to the very lucrative results, the Tea-trade is cared for because it affords the means of influence and patronage. The appointments of the Company's servants in China are reserved for the Directors' nearest relations, and in the shipping employed in the China trade, are found unbounded means for creating

a powerful and extensive interest. It is no stigma to say, that corruption, or an improper influence, is the basis of this part of the fabric of the East India establishment; and to this questionable source may be traced the reason why the exclusive possession of the Tea-trade is combated for by the Company with such pertinacious obstinacy. Without some pretensions to the humble character of merchants, the Company could not well approach Parliament, and sue for a renewal of the lease of its privileges, though it has shown, on many occasions, a desire to forget the origin and continuation of its existence, in the more exalted character of Governors, and of such a country, too, as India.

Here the symptoms of pride may be excusable. The many disputes which the Factory at Canton has had with the Chinese, and they still continue, are attributable to the authority being vested in a junta of merchants: and in consequence of the Chinese not ranking commerce high in the scale of consideration, they never have paid that respect to the British flag, which they might probably have been induced to evince, had it floated over a person or persons delegated with authority immediately from the King's Government. The Chinese

have the wit to know that we could teach them manners through the blockade of their rivers by our cruisers, or perchance by the whistling of a few shot among the houses of Canton.

But the Company has no authority to close a Chinese port against foreign nations, and the consequence is, it is obliged to give way on most occasions. To its honour however be it said, that whenever an affair has happened, involving the risk of the lives of individuals, the Company's servants have behaved like men and Englishmen. As much cannot be said by those of other nations, who, to continue their trade, have sacrificed the life of a countryman to the cowardly revenge of the Chinese. No commercial body can in a foreign country carry the same weight, or command the same consideration, which the Government of its country has a right to demand, and would undoubtedly, even in China, be sure of receiving. For it is beyond common sense to suppose, that the Chinese would consent to lose the profits upon Tea for the mere freak of indulging their obstinacy. As for the Company, it is too nearly interested in the uninterrupted continuation of the trade, to stickle at any point which the cupidity or insolence of the Chinese

might dispose them to contest. It is believed that England would gain more by an accredited agent of the King residing at Canton, than the India Company are willing to allow: less than at present she could not.

The change which has taken place in the councils of England bodes no good to the India Company's monopoly, or, indeed, any favourable impression to its general interests; but no one possessing a right knowledge of the state of India, and who estimates with accuracy the bearing of that extensive country with respect to England, with its political, social, and commercial considerations, would covet to see its rule and governance more at the disposal of the Minister of the Crown than it now is. Were the Charter not to be renewed, it is not seen how it would be possible to prevent India from becoming a colony of England in the most extensive sense of the word. Parliament could not make any difference between India and North America, or New South Wales; or prevent settlers betaking themselves to the provinces when and in what number they chose. The Company, in its government, resembles the Austrian: it is in some degree a paternal government, though an arbitrary one, and, as long as the people remain quiet, would

never think of bettering their condition by enlightening their minds. It is in the withholding of what ought to be bestowed that the Government of the Company is reprehensible, rather than in an active oppression and regardless violence against person and property :— that which is left to the people they may enjoy in peace ; but it does not take them long to sum up the benefits which have accrued to them in the change from the Moslem to the British rule.

It scarcely may be necessary to mention that the legislative and executive government is lodged in the hands of the Governor-General and Council: all matters appertaining to the country are solely within the jurisdiction of this Board, which is termed "*Supreme,*" having the Residencies of Madras and Bombay under its authority. The "Supreme Council" cannot abrogate the Standing Orders of the Court of Directors, or, what are are of infinitely greater consequence, those of the Board of Control; but it may arrange, modify, or create laws referring to existing circumstances. The Governor-General can, by virtue of the Act of Parliament, act in all matters except judicial, levying taxes, or abrogating general rules and ordinances, upon his own responsi-

bility. Peace and war are determined by him, and he is by law permitted, if he sees fit, to assume a greater stretch of power than ever was permitted to an Englishman with the concurrence of the Senate.

It will not be considered a security to say, that, owing to the principles inherent in Englishmen, this despotic power would never be exerted save in a case of urgent and extreme necessity: the best security, and the one most congenial to the feelings of our country, would be to place the liberties of its citizens under the safeguard of its laws. In the event of the Governor-General acting without the concurrence or against the opinion of the Council, the latter records its dissent in the minute of its members.

The appointment of Governor-General is, in name, with the Court of Directors, but in reality with the Minister; and it affords another instance of the absurdity of the endeavours of this Corporate Body to possess an expressed and declared right, which was at first its birth-portion. The appointment of Members of Council is wholly conceded to the Directors; and these are chosen from the civil service. In the exertion of this privilege, the Court in its selection deserves the highest praise;

for it has generally chosen the ablest men in its service for these important stations. It may, however, be worthy of remark, that some were to be distinguished by the additional consequence of family connexions, or other equivalent considerations.

In the list of those who have adorned the Council-board by their virtues, their talents, and their extensive knowledge of India and her people, who will not concede the first place to the venerated name of John Adam? Elphinstone, Munro, and Malcolm, are names which, as long as we hold dominion in India, will shine as stars to guide the patriotic ambition of soldiers and civilians; while those of Metcalfe, Colebrooke, Jenkins, and Stuart, are of conspicuous celebrity.

One of these great names, Elphinstone—equally statesman and soldier, one day sharing the perils of battle at Kirhee,* when the Paishwah attacked the Poonah Residency, and the next prescribing terms to a vanquished foe—whether he is viewed as the high public servant, or as the friend and protector of the Natives, of liberal and enlightened policy, bestowing the benefits of his knowledge, with a hand open as the day—whether as the soldier, statesman, or the individual, — is equally

admired, respected, and beloved. There have been others whose fame for knowledge and ability has outlasted the respect due to them; but of these it would be uncharitable to speak.

The influence of the Governor-General is paramount throughout India; and whether for the vast territory, the numerous nations, and amount of the total population, the variety of their interests, or the absolute power with which he is invested with reference to all these important points, they all combine to make it the most prominent situation to which an individual can aspire, and to impose the most awful responsibility, for the exercise of the most extended power that was ever delegated by the laws of a free country, such as England, to the genius and virtues of one man.

CHAPTER IX.

Departments of the Government.—The present Government.—Remarks upon the British Government of India —The Board of Control.—Power of the Governor-General. —The Marquis of Hastings.—The Burmese War.

THE business of the Government is divided into several departments, bearing some analogy to that of the mother country. These are the judicial, revenue, political, general, military, and the commercial. In all five separate divisions of labour, to each a Secretary and assistants are attached, who prepare the business for the Council, and constitute the medium of communication to all the subordinates in the several departments. The office of Secretary is necessarily one of great trust and responsibility: the time has been when these officials were, all but in name, the spirit as

well as organs of the Government; but those days were not under the rule of Lords Wellesley and Hastings, and, if fame lies not, they exist not under the present administration; which, if it is supposed to possess ability to judge for itself, and steadiness of purpose in determining, may perhaps be found to owe the admission of those apparent qualifications rather to the source of self-will and unbending pertinacity of opinion.

Under all the circumstances of the relation of India to England, the present form of government may be considered to be the best. Not that it has done all the good it had and continues to have the power to effect; on the contrary, if the English were compelled to abandon the country to-morrow, posterity would in vain look for the remains of a Government which claimed Great Britain as the mother country, or any point on which a foreign power succeeding us, could fix its admiration or respect, or on which the Natives themselves could rest, with a gratuitous generosity, one single remembrance of affection or regard.

If, in the march of events, our expulsion was to take place, could the subjugation of the

country, with all the severities of conquerors animated to unwonted exertion by their cupidity and ambition, be a cause for regret? Could the violation of religious customs, although characterized so liberally by the term prejudices, and the interference of power to check opinion—could the alteration in parts of the codes of law, or the intrusion of the maxims of English jurisprudence by way of commentary upon the native, be considered consonant to the feelings of the people of India, and deserving of imitation by other masters? Could the taxing the inhabitants to the uttermost farthing be confirmatory of the liberality and paternal care of the British Government? —Would not the annihilation of the gentry of the country, (the policy of timid rulers,) remain as a proof of its weakness and its fears? Or will the British power rest its claims to future honour and applause, in its efforts for the increase of knowledge and civilization through the extended facilities of education, or for the guarantee of mutual interests which ought to be between the governor and the governed, by which the honour, stability, and respect of the one is upheld, and the happiness of the other is secured? Will the British power have the gratifying reflection that its

acts were directed, not only to the subservience and security of the people, but to their happiness also? The prosperity of a people is not to be gauged by its ability to raise the imposts of the Government, but proceeds from the freedom of thought and action compatible with the rights and safety of the community. Will it claim the gratitude of India for the maintenance of the poor, the relief of the sick, the erection of buildings for the convenience of her vast population, her merchants and travellers? Whatever claim the British Government may put forth for the veneration of posterity, it will not be able to rest it upon any of the above grounds.*

In Calcutta, and one or two of the larger towns, there are hospitals and colleges for the natives: the former ought to be more numerous, and in every principal city of a province; the colleges are for the education of Natives, who may select the law for their profession. The Government also contributes its 'mite' towards one or two charities, but these institutions are chiefly nourished by the benevolence of the European population. In the provinces and about Calcutta, it is the Missionaries who instruct the people, both in the English and Native languages; in which undertaking they meet the liberal support of societies, instituted for the encouragement and diffusion of knowledge. But the points for which the thanks of the Natives will be withheld from the British Government of India are, its lukewarmness in the

The progress of the Company to dominion is to be traced in the results of peculiar circumstances; and the period was but brief from their being mere traders to their acquisition of territory, and from this last step to their becoming the lords paramount over the continent of India. Conquest, though it has given them possession, still leaves their right disputed. But is the rule of a government of a country like India, with her hundred millions, to be limited to the extraction of her wealth? and is she to receive no return in the proffered blessings of a holier and purer belief, and in the free exercise of the powers of the mind, which a just-dealing Providence has bestowed upon all men, without respect to clime or colour, and to which a quiet and loyal people have a natural claim,—such as a people desire who, ages before our own, (and why may they not be so again?) were distinguished for the

spread of education, and consequent nearer approach to civilization; the want also of accommodation for the people, in the convenience and furtherance of commerce by the building of bridges and caravanserai, as in the Mogul time, by the digging of wells, planting trees, rescuing waste lands from inutility, erecting schools in the larger towns, and thus offering the advantages of education to the people. The solution may perhaps be found in the axiom that "knowledge is power."

higher attributes of civilization in all its adornments?

Is it enough to say, that what knowledge or wisdom we possess may be shared by India, if she chooses to seek it? Is it not incumbent upon the wise to teach wisdom? But our moral character resembles a wintry sun: its existence may be apparent to all, but its rays afford no genial heat to cherish into life the germ of any production which could render the human character more dignified, or might dispose it to fulfil with greater rectitude and willingness the duties imposed upon its nature.

The Government of India, (that is, the home authorities,) has imitated the conduct of the worthy Mr. Inkle, and, although it has derived every advantage which the possession of the country has afforded, it would sell her to the highest bidder, when it found her unable to produce the wonted profit.

The principle and the system are alike obnoxious to the prosperity of India; and though the transfer of the Government and the Army to the Crown, and the demolition of every unfair monopoly, would be hailed with delight; yet, for the better and purer administration of the country, there are very few conversant with the matter who would wish

to see the Government and the civil branch of the State in the hands of the Minister of the day. The great distance from the mother country makes it necessary that the rulers should be on the spot, and invested with powers proportioned to, but not exceeding, the charge.

And here a surmise may be hazarded upon the propriety of continuing the Board of Controul in its present functions. This *imperium in imperio* is pregnant with mischief, and either the Board or the Court of Directors ought to be done away with. As it is, the Court of Directors cannot stir a step without the permission of the Board of Controul, and is therefore but a very secondary functionary, though enjoying in some degree (in name) the respect and attention due to the chief authority: hence a cause for jealousy on the part of the weaker side against the domineering intervention of the stronger. The Board of Controul is an expensive nightmare, paralyzing the intentions of the Court. It is certainly to be desired that the Court should have a superior, but let that superior be Parliament alone; or, if the Board is preferred, let the Court cease to enjoy legislative functions; for, with the two, no real cordiality can subsist. One motive for disagreement may be instanced in the Court of

Directors having at its disposal the great bulk of Indian patronage, and in the common course of its concerns being obliged to surrender some of its appointments as a *quid pro quo*, if it seeks to carry a favourite scheme with its superior.

Should it be deemed advisable, however, to continue the Directors in a real and efficient administration of Indian affairs, it would be very easy to have a standing committee of the House of Commons to be the medium of communication, and to act in some measure as a Board of Surveillance over them. If this duty is incompatible with others belonging to a member of that House, a Board might be composed of paid members, in whose department should lie all Indian matters, but these should be limited to communications, and wholly devoid of an influence which must, in some shape or other, prove of pernicious tendency. Whatever the assembly may be termed which has to wield the energies and to sway the destinies of India, it ought to stand alone, unfettered by the bonds of suspicious fears as to its capability or inclination to do injury, and unincumbered with those petty jealousies which seek their gratification in thwarting whatever may be intended as improvement, merely because it originated elsewhere.

It would be unwise not to have a sufficient check upon the India Company: but how easy is this in the present state of affairs. Information is to be had upon the most minute question, and with a body of men whose duty would expressly be to seek out information, nothing ought to escape observation. To sum up these imperfect remarks: either the Board of Controul or the Court of Directors ought to be abolished: one of them is useless, to say the least of it; and as far as the way is seen, the latter body is perhaps that which should be retained.

To revert to the Governor-General:—It is no security to say, that hitherto no Governor-General has gone beyond his powers. To Englishmen it would be more satisfactory to know that he *could not* overstep those with which only he *ought* to be invested; but, as the matter stands, no European is safe from the exertion of his unbounded power, if the Governor-General chooses to display it. Any one not born in the country may be ordered to quit its shores upon a short notice, and be obliged to leave his property to the mercy of strangers, or, what may prove equally destructive, be compelled to dispose of it under the most unfavourable circumstances. Surely this

is too great a penalty, to which British law can, in opposition to its free spirit, consign one of its citizens.

The Governor-General cannot abrogate any existing laws, or enact any touching the administration of justice; nor can he, without the consent of his Council, levy any tax or impost. Peace and war, however, belong wholly to him, and so does the enormous patronage of the Bengal Presidency, with the exception of a few situations in the army. He has likewise the nomination to all high political offices at the other Presidencies: should he proceed to them, the Governors resign to him their authority, but retain their seats at the council-table. The Governor-General is not amenable to, nor can be sued in person in the King's Court, except for felony, which is also the case with the members of the Government.

On his quitting Calcutta, it is necessary to appoint a Vice-president in Council. The acts of the Government are designated as of the Governor-General in Council, even were he to stand alone in an opinion. When he is absent from the Presidency, they are those of the Vice-president in Council. The junior Presidencies report, for the information of the Supreme Government, all matters of interest

or moment; they are bound to obey orders from this superior board, but may offer and record their protests.

It may be worth while to cast a furtive glance at the present state of our East Indian possessions, and the position in which the Government stands with relation to the European community and the Native population, as also with respect to the interests of the mother country. At this moment the Company is deeply in debt, consequent upon the enormous if not profuse expenditure in as foolish and useless a war as was ever waged between a powerful and civilized state and a barbarous and really contemptible people. This grew out of sending a person to rule the destinies of India in every point, but a suavity of disposition and respectability of personal character, deficient in the necessary qualifications; one who possessed but little experience in the arts of government, particularly in one so foreign to that of his native country.

The successor of the Marquis of Hastings ought to have been of kindred genius to that great man, elevated with congenial sentiments, imbued with the same glowing enthusiasm, and claiming at least a portion of his various and conspicuous attainments. At the period

of that great and lamented man's resigning the government, which he exercised for a period of nine years and a half, and in times of unexampled difficulty and danger—whether from the active hostility of combined powers, or the heavy pressure of financial matters—India saw him boldly look these dangers in the face, and manfully stand up to combat them; not with the overweening confidence or rash daring of a man suddenly thrust into power and command, but with the cool, calculating prudence, gained in the course of long, hazardous, and eventful services to his country. As a statesman, he guided the policy of his measures by judgment and foresight, and as a soldier, he followed them up with a decision, celerity, and energy, which ended (as things will always in like cases) in a glorious triumph, and what ought to have proved a lasting peace.

The two Goorcha wars, which rescued kingdoms from a most tyrannous slavery, were forced by insult and bloodshed upon the British;—the Pindarrie campaigns restored peace and plenty to Central India, in the extirpation of those ferocious and depopulating robbers;—the overthrow of the Paishwah's power; the humiliation of Holkar, Scindeah, and other turbulent and disaffected chieftains,

led to the general repose of Hindoostan ;—and to crown all, notwithstanding the expenses these circumstances necessarily induced, and the great augmentations in all departments, (the army especially,) at the retirement of this able chief from his labours he left three millions sterling in the treasury.

Those interested in the past and present state of India, and who consider the characters and services of public men as public property, will be gratified by the perusal of the modest but masterly *précis* which Lord Hastings drew up upon resigning the Government. The Ava war, entered upon in all the hurry of fear, was of course not guided by judgment, either in the plan of operations or the most fitting time for commencing them. But I will not here repeat the absurdity which characterized the doings of the Indian Government, which, with all the good-nature of fancied over-strength, gratuitously told the Burmese of the intended attack ; and, in the extensive preparations of some months, gave the enemy ample time to make the best defence in his power. If ever the bull was taken by the horns, it was on this occasion.

The history of this war is divested of all honourable characteristics, but those which

belong to a brave and enduring army, which, unable to meet the foe in battle, fell before an unconquerable antagonist. Death reaped a plenteous harvest at Rangoon and in Arracan; those to whom he did not deal the finishing stroke, continue to bear the remains of a disease which baffles all attempts of skill to overcome. Accompanying the declaration of hostilities, a manifesto appeared, worthy the opening of an Austrian campaign, or as a precursor to Waterloo. Instant and large equipments were ordered, as if the foe was at the gate. In this hurry and confusion, much injury and loss occurred, to say nothing of unseemly want of coolness. Apprehension in the Government spread itself among the Natives; but there was not an European in the country, unconnected with "the Powers," who did not laugh at or pity the delusion. The Supreme Government was actually afraid of a Burmese invasion of Calcutta, by way of the Sunderbunds, and accordingly ordered an European regiment down the river for further protection.

At this time, almost the whole of the disposable force was in the harbour of Rangoon, or immersed in the marshes of Arracan. But in pity to the errors which caused such disas-

trous consequences to this ill-judged and ill-fated expedition, its misfortunes ought to be forgotten, in the patient enduring with which the army bore the complicated evils of a pestilential climate, a country inundated by stagnant water, and the culpable remissness in not providing adequate provisions for the men and cattle.

Had not Sir Thomas Munro's active and intelligent mind been brought to participate in the events of the Burmese war, the Bengal Division would have been reduced to great straits. As it was, its ranks were thinned of officers and men to a dreadful amount; and this, too, in an interval of some months before it had the fortune to meet the Burmese army. The expenditure of the three millions in the treasury, an added debt of ten millions, to say little of the loss of opinion among Natives of reflection, (worth a moiety at least of the money,) and that most unfortunate of all catastrophes, the massacre at Barrackpore, which though, perhaps, it could not have been avoided, certainly grew out of the circumstances attending the war:—all these are to be numbered as its positive results.

It may be deemed a bold assertion, that the war was wholly unnecessary, especially with

respect to the circumstances of responsibility and importance which accompanied it from the commencement to the termination. In the first place, the Government was most profoundly ignorant of the country, its resources, and its means of offence and defence; and the only authority upon which it built the structure of its policy, was the narrative of "Symes's Embassy to Ava," and the reminiscences of an officer who had accompanied it. To the latter, implicit confidence was yielded, and vast influential authority delegated; but it was quickly perceived that the several points of information gathered in the previous visit to Ava, were not of the slightest use in the present state of affairs; and the utmost of the knowledge acquired sufficed only to take the fleet abreast of the town of Rangoon.

The natural position of the British was such as to render any attempts of the enemy to annoy them innocuous, or, if persisted in, gave them such decided advantages, as to have led calm and practised men to have awaited, rather than have sought coming events, instead of permitting the slaughter of a gallant body under Captain Noton, at Ramoo. This detachment should have been called in, or reinforced: the former was the more prudent course; and, on

remonstrances to the Ava Government being unheeded, there was nothing required but to strengthen the South-eastern frontier with a few battalions and some light artillery;" to send two or three more to occupy Rangoon, and a couple of sloops-of-war to keep open the communication with the sea: these arrangements, to every unprejudiced person, appeared amply sufficient for full and satisfactory redress.

Without Rangoon, the Burmese were at our mercy, and that town is now made capable of being held by a small force against the enterprise of the whole enemy's army; besides which, it is the second town of the empire, and its only sea-port. Even with all these known paramount advantages, the Government, at the conclusion of hostilities, neglected to retain possession of this key to the Burman trade, but acquired several provinces in the hopes of dazzling the optics of the India Court, and the nation at large. The claim upon the Burmese was indemnity for the past, and security for the future. The first of these two high-sounding terms came forth in the demand of three millions sterling, which, with somewhat of a Jewish transaction, was beat down to *one;* that was agreed to be paid in four equal instalments, at fixed periods, and

all within a year and a half. The war ended in the early part of 1826, and, at the end of 1829, only two payments had been made. The Provinces, instead of proving beneficial, were absolute burthens upon the other Governments, and required a large body of troops for their occupation.

It is now understood that it is in contemplation to quit them, which indeed would have taken place long since, if any arrangement could have been made for the security of the Natives from the enmity and aggressions of the Burmese, who, it was known, would immediately visit with their most cruel vengeance all those who they imagined had taken part with the British against them. Arracan is similarly situated: we know not to whom we should give it up, but desire not to retain it in consequence of its pestiferous climate, which brought destruction on our gallant soldiers with such swift and unerring speed.

Had the Burmese entered over our frontier, we should have met them on vantage ground, and have given them a hearty good drubbing, that is to say, if fighting on our own territory, and with succours of all kinds in support of us, would have been construed as advantages; but the mere fact of an armament in the Irra-

waddy would naturally, as it afterwards did, draw the whole barbarian force to that point. It was conjectured that a road led from Arracan through the mountains upon Umrepoora, and intersecting the river high up towards that capital. The Government possessed a vague notion of the existence of this road, but remained completely in the dark as to its position. The army, both horse and foot, floundered among the marshes of Arracan, turning this way and that way, till pestilence marked it for its own, and with equal impartiality numbered officers and men, the strong and the weak, as its victims: the deaths averaged 800 a month.

As a *memento mori* to the manes or remembrance of the brave spirits who fell in this disastrous and inglorious undertaking, the chief, under whose authority and auspices the campaign was entered upon, has had additional dignity conferred, and an appellation derived from the scene of such loss and misfortune!

As a sequel to this melancholy history, on the confirmation of peace, and the return of the army, this identical road was discovered by an officer of the name of Trant, then attached to the Quarter-master-general's department, who brought across the mountains, with safety

and in excellent condition, the detachment entrusted to his charge.

A fact deserves a place here. Bundoolah, the Burmese chieftain, was in Arracan with a large force, advancing upon the Company's territories, but, hearing of the capture of Rangoon, he hastened to the scene of action, leaving orders for his army to follow with all speed. Now, as these gentry did not make a hop skip and jump through the air, they must have gone by some terrestrial route; but such a notion never entered into the minds of the rulers of India to conceive. The Burmese were as much amazed, as it was a matter of congratulation that the road remained undiscovered. It was by this way, the Burmese obtained intelligence from Calcutta long before the English could procure it by sea; for no sooner was the treaty of peace signed and sealed, than the British Commissioners were assured of the fall of Bhurtpore, of which until then they were ignorant.

CHAPTER X.

The Colonization of India.—Commerce of British-India.—March of intellect.—Indo-British population.—European inhabitants.—Indo-British population.

MUCH has been said upon the propriety of allowing colonization in India, and as much has been written by its adversaries against it. The points which require due examination, are the effects of such a measure upon the interests of England and India: the one as respects the security of her rule, the pursuits of commerce, the field which would be opened to the enterprise of her adventurers, and in common with her other colonies, as the means of drawing off a portion of her surplus population. With reference to India ought to be considered the increase of her happiness, in the

extension of knowledge, and in the application of our rules of governance, which have for their end the amelioration of the wants and sufferings of so large a portion of our subjects.

Constituted as the present Government is, it may be well imagined that a sudden augmentation of Europeans would endanger its existence, which it is necessary to observe is formed for present circumstances; and it would naturally be a question, upon the country being opened to the influx of a greater or an unlimited number, whether the laws which are now in a manner arbitrary, should not expand so as to approach, if not arrive, at the amplitude which they possess in England.

It is always put forth with a seeming force of truth, that the free spirit of the British constitution would but ill suit the habits, genius, and customs of the Indians; and to make a difference between them and the English would be as impolitic as invidious. There can be no doubt that if Europeans were allowed to settle and acquire property in the soil, the laws affecting both it and their persons, which are now subject to the construction and amenable to the orders of the Governor-General alone, should claim a nearer kindred to those under which we

live in England. But much as Englishmen respect those laws, and contend for their benefits, they could not be desired to be thrust upon the Natives, who, with some exceptions, have a well-grounded horror of being brought within their influence.

But in applying those which can be found consonant to their feelings, or little obnoxious to their prejudices, it will be a work of no difficulty to free them from the operation of those uncongenial to their own system, and to which there could exist no reason that they should be subjected. Nor would this be considered by the Europeans as an unfair dispensation from the authority which they would be obliged to acknowledge. From legislating for Hindoostan, we might take an useful lesson from what has been done already. From the follies of the past we ought to extract wisdom for the future; for, independent of the miserable condition to which our rule has reduced India, the chaos of our political affairs would perplex a generation of Machiavels to separate or distinguish the component parts.

Apprehensions of danger occurring to India could only with reason be entertained by the want of a just and impartial legislation. The efficacy and respectability of the executive are

so much at its command by its own acts, that with Englishmen for its citizens—and such too, as would, in all probability, resort to India —the fault would belong to the Government itself, if it failed to inspire the respect and confidence which it ought on all occasions to be its endeavour to acquire.

The judgment of those who authorised colonization would surely determine the rights of the settlers within limits partaking as much of the healthy spirit of the constitution of the mother country, as the peculiar circumstances would warrant, so as to prevent aggression on the one part, and oppression on the other. The good to be looked for by England would be, the removal of a part of her population; the extension of her commerce in consequence of the wants of those who emigrate, and, though slowly it may come about, in teaching those wants to be more universally felt among the natives of India, and the numerous nations on the northern and eastern frontiers.

It has been said by the opponents of the measure, that the Natives are too poor to purchase superfluities, and that they have no need of things which are not the produce of their own country. But these declaimers do not extend their vision beyond the actual state of

the Natives. If they are poor, who made them so? Is it desired to chain them everlastingly down to the low point of present endurance—the zero of civilization? In parts of India, such as the Deccan, the Mysore, the Himalaya, and the Neelgherry hills, the climate is in all things congenial to the European constitution; and in their fertile plains and valleys multitudes might find a resting-place without displacing the Natives.

The natural products of India (those which are the spontaneous gift of the earth,) are yet but sparingly gathered. Capital and enterprise are both wanting. A resident European community would prove a great good to India, and add to her wealth and importance. Now she is nothing but a vast field, which yields successive crops without cessation, while no care is taken to guard against the impoverishment of the soil, by the sustenance of a generous and nourishing system of culture. India, since the peace, has been decreasing in wealth; and at this day, the tables are turned quite against her. The produce which her merchants send out of her ports is limited to a few articles of importance; and these are much reduced. They are indigo, cotton, silk, and saltpetre.

The other exports are of very minor consideration, and scarcely deserving of enumeration.

The silk trade, owing to the unjustifiable and almost unprincipled conduct of the Government, by authority from home, in giving preposterous and losing prices, has almost driven the private traders out of the market; and this trade may now be said to be a monopoly in the hands of the Company, which has gained its object in the ruin of individuals who followed the speculation.

Cotton and saltpetre are nearly drugs, though the latter, from political causes, will always command a certain consideration. Indigo may be said to be the chief article which forms the basis of the commercial relation between India and England. The reader, in looking over a table of imports and exports to and from India, will not fail to observe, that the India Company has almost lost the character of merchants in their connexion with India proper; for the goods exported by it from England are only what, by the Charter, it is bound to send, or are in the shape of military stores. The commerce of the two countries may be said to be entirely in the hands of the private traders. The India Company has strenuously opposed

all notion of colonization, fearing the subversion of its authority, and setting up, as the chief reason against the entry of a larger white population, the endangerment likely to occur to the British rule itself. But those who hold this opinion, will not perceive the certainty of the legislature giving to the local Government and laws an increase of authority, adequate to all honest purposes.

If India was to go back to and then continue in the state in which she came into the possession of the British, something might be said in furtherance of continuing the present system; but this cannot be, the eyes of the Natives are opened, and they seek the light of knowledge with the eagerness of men struggling to emancipate themselves from the dark ignorance of ages. Huge gaps have been made in the customs and usages, in the manners and modes of thinking by the Natives themselves, which, though of small amount, must be received by the observant spectator as an indication of what must certainly take place, viz. a complete revolution in the character of the people of India, as far as consistent and compatible with the climate. Information is sought for with avidity, and the rights of individuals and communities are now discussed with an earnest-

ness and freedom denoting the hold they have obtained upon men's minds. The Native press is forward in the work of instruction, nor is the European part of that powerful engine less ardent in the noble cause, though its aid is somewhat clogged by the censorship.

The schoolmaster is abroad in India, and intellect is on its march; the day may come, when either from foreign invasion, or interior commotion, or both combined, the want of a British population may prove the cause of the loss of India. The distance of India, the expense of equipment for the voyage. and future arrangements when in the country, backed by laws regulating settlements, will be the surest bar that none but eligible characters will think of proceeding to her shores. The chances of foreign invasion are yet very distant, but there exists a cause for unremitting watchfulness over a portion of the community, which until lately has scarcely ever had a thought bestowed upon it. The Indo-British population is here meant, growing up with silent but gradual steps, its bulk increasing in such rapid progression, (enough to confound even a Malthusian,) as will in a short time outnumber very considerably the Europeans. Nor is their increase confined to numbers; in talents, reflection, and desires,

they are not so very far behind the "pale faces," who most arrogantly and unjustly consider them in every way an inferior people—thus shut out of the pale of society, they are thrown wholly upon themselves and their own resources.

Will it not follow as a matter of course, that they must look to themselves alone, or in conjunction with the Natives, for a change of condition, and the advancement of their body in the scale of society? Will they remain contented to be repulsed by the Europeans and uncared for by the Hindoos, and thus constitute a people marked out and set apart, not like the Jews by the finger of Providence, but by the contumelious assumption of superiority by their fellow man? Will they not, when they arrive at the power, (the will is theirs already,) seize the rights of men and citizens which are now denied them? It is on this body, growing in numbers and knowledge, (the true source of all power,) that the possession of India will devolve, unless means are taken, while yet available and useful, to secure their allegiance and affection, and, as an equipoise to their weight and influence, to permit the growth of an European community.

The total numerical force of European troops in India is as follows, viz.—The King's army,

which by Charter is fixed at 20,000 men; the Company's European troops, artillery and foot, at the three Presidencies, under 8000: the number of officers belonging to the different armies do not reach 5000, of which one-fourth are on furlough. The medical branches may be 800. The invalids are perhaps 500 men; and about 250 belong to the artillery branches, under the designation of conductors, commissaries, &c. Thus the gross amount of European troops, upon paper, falls short of 35,000 men of all denominations. Added to these, come the civil services of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, which on paper may be computed at 1000. The European inhabitants not in the service of the Company, if congregated from all parts of India where they are now scattered, would not exceed 4000.

These several items make up the grand total of Europeans of all descriptions to near 40,000, but, admitting there were 50,000, and taking the population of Natives as 100,000,000 at the least, the proportion which the Natives bear to the Europeans is 2000 to an unit!

Until lately India was not ready for a larger importation of Europeans, but she is fully so now. The States of South America are cases in point, where the offsets of the settlers as-

sumed the sovereignty of their country, and wrested the government from the hands of the Royal Governors. And why? because they were not admitted to a participation of the privileges and common rights which belong to the children of the soil; the ties of blood were of less consideration than the claim of conquerors to continue their oppressive domination. But what men in the full knowledge of that which they ought to possess, and having a firm determination to acquire it, could do, they did, and thus worked out their freedom.

It was only a few short years since the Indo-Britons were excluded from all connexion with the laws which governed them, save the expression of passive obedience; but, by a law recently made by Parliament, they are now eligible to serve on Petty Juries and Coroners' Inquests. Here the door has been closed against their further eligibility to serve the state as good citizens; but if this said door is not opened by their masters, and to its widest extent too, the present despised half-castes will sooner or later take the trouble to unhinge the impediment.

CHAPTER XI.

The Liberty of the Press.—Administration of justice.—Persian used in the Law courts.—The Sudder Dewauny.—The Zillah courts.—Character of the Hindoos.

THE liberty of the press is of course with every Englishman a subject of near and vital importance, but with reference to India much mistake has arisen with regard to the acts of different Governors, who occasionally considered it necessary to step in and forbid the exercise of its freedom to the extent which individuals concerned with it conjectured they were at liberty to proceed. India, by the restrictions of the Charter, has not any right to a free press, and under the present state of affairs there is nothing which would tend more to overthrow the British supremacy than the unfettered exercise of this most powerful of all engines for the

propagation and interchange of opinion; but let them who gave the Charter to the Company bear the *onus* of depriving a country like India of the means of improvement, because the fear of losing it prevented the boon of so lasting a benefit.

Of late years there has been much coquetry between the Governors-General and the press, and even Lord Hastings flirted a little with this affiliated daughter of the Goddess of Freedom; he certainly was fully aware that he possessed authority to restrain the abuse of the press, (which in his time had sprung, Minerva-like, to birth, armed at all points, and eager for the fray of wordy warfare,) for he threatened, but never struck the blow. He imagined, possibly, that the exercise of this power would evince too much of the arbitrary spirit of a despot, and felt no desire to risk his character, which perhaps may be said to have drawn too much of its existence from the breath of popular opinion.

His successor for the time had no scruples either as to the propriety of the doctrine, or the putting in force the denunciations which had been fulminated against the editor of a newspaper on many occasions. The sword of Damocles, which Lord Hastings had suspended

over the head of this editor, descended, and cut his connexion with the people and their appetite for politics. The offence for which he suffered, was by some thought to be of too trivial a character; but it was rather the spirit than the amount of wrong which brought upon him the threatened but long-delayed vengeance. Persecution is the most approved recipe to make a martyr. But though loud and angry were the voices of many at this daring inroad upon the alleged rights of free-born Englishmen, yet, as a convincing proof that all was in strict accordance to the spirit of the Charter, the matter, after much discussion in England, dropped into silence.

In the administration of justice in criminal matters, the Government has continued the Mohammedan code, as drawn from the Koran, both in principle and form: this was the state under which the Hindoos had lived since their subjection to the Moguls. But the laws touching property, real and personal, and the customs and usages affecting it, were of that nature which made it impossible, or impolitic, to insist upon the substitution of the Moslem for the Hindoo code; in consequence, the conquered have enjoyed the benefits of the institutions of their own lawgivers, time out of

mind. In criminal matters the Native population of all creeds is amenable to Moslem law.

It is not attempted here to state the nature of property, or to enter minutely into the forms of the jurisprudence now in force in India, for it must be confessed that it is more easy to condemn than remedy. It cannot be denied that the present system is faulty; and, on this point, the acute author of the Political History of India fully agrees; but that a remedy could be applied, is as certain as it is imperiously demanded. Innovation is a term of dreaded import in India, and is particularly so to a proprietary government like the present, which, if it could banish the fears and apprehensions excited upon all occasions where change is suggested, would not only derive advantage itself, but would bestow incalculable benefit upon the community.

With the principles of the Moslem law have also been retained its forms; these are the officers of the court, the mode of proceedings, and even the Persian language introduced by the Moguls. The continued use of the latter is an unaccountable absurdity, and the parent of exceeding injustice to the huge mass of the population. The Moslems, in the true spirit

of conquerors, introduced the Persian, which was almost their own language, (as it was certainly the great conventional one of the East,) into the Courts of Law, and established it as that of the Court, and the medium of communication in all political relations, even with the Hindoo princes. It was of course a great evil to the Hindoos, who not only were subjected to foreign law, but were obliged to seek it through the medium of the language, and the interpretation of their conquerors.

It is strange that the English have never thought of abrogating so vicious a form, and bestowing upon their subjects, in its stead, the great boon of having the law administered in the language of the country; or if this were a means of casting off the Natives from the hold which we were wise in having upon them, why at least not imitate the example of politic conquerors, and fix English as the tongue for judicial proceedings? In this case the suitors would have a greater chance of an impartial award; the judge himself fully understanding what has been said, and being thereby able to weigh and discriminate between conflicting testimonies. As law now exists, notwithstanding the language is Persian, the English terms of decree, plaintiff, nonsuit, &c. are those

only in use. The vakeels, or attorneys, are those who alone thoroughly comprehend the mysticism of the law; for, with very few exceptions, the judge who presides is far from being competent to expound or comment upon the many disputed passages; and, as to the unfortunate suitors themselves, few even of the Mohammedan persuasion understand the Persian language, and of the Hindoos not one in ten thousand. Why the Persian has not been discarded, and either the English or Hindoostani, which is the colloquial language of all India, substituted, and which is understood by Hindoo and Moslem, is a matter best known to the Court of Directors. The Hindoostani would have this advantage over the English, that the people speak it, and a competent knowledge of it is very easily acquired by Europeans, with whom it is rendered familiar by being the universal means of communication between them and their servants, as well as the Natives of all castes and descriptions.

This department of the State has lately been unsettled from its foundation, and within the last year has altered its position; it therefore becomes a source of regret that more than a brief view of the structure cannot be given.

A Secretary for the judicial department is the channel of communication from the Government to the different Courts. It is, as may be supposed, an office of great responsibility, and one of immense labour. The Court paramount to all others is the "Sudder Dewauny," with civil and criminal jurisdiction. This court was until last year fixed at Calcutta, but a change was considered necessary, and it is now at Allahabad, 500 miles from the seat of Government; the advantage to be derived from this however remains to be seen. The Sudder Dewauny controls the inferior courts, and is the last appeal, except to the King in Council. The Government has not the power to reverse its decrees, but may remove the judges to other situations.

The next in rank and importance are the Provincial Courts of Appeal, which were, until 1829, also circuit courts for criminal business, as well as civil matters. At the period above mentioned, the criminal affairs were assigned to a Commissioner, and the duties of the Court of Appeal limited to civil suits. The Zillah, or district, comes next. A Judge presides over this court, who is assisted by a Registrar: occasionally the police is entrusted to the Judge, but when this department is

troublesome, and the duties heavy, a magistrate is specially appointed.

Attached to the Zillah Courts are one or two young civilians, who, having passed through the college examinations, are declared qualified for public duty, and are sent to acquire a knowledge of affairs under a public officer. In civil cases the Judge has cognizance of actions to a certain amount; the Registrar and Assistant of suits of smaller sums. The decrees of the two latter must receive the sanction of the Judge before being put in execution.

The magistrate superintends all policial duties, assaults, and personal aggressions. He is empowered to inflict corporal punishment; to confine to hard labour for a short term; and to fine to a small amount. He is subordinate to the Commissioner, to whom he reports all occurrences.*

The Commissioner of a district has been invested with the criminal duties which belonged to the Court of Circuit. He makes his circuit at fixed periods to hold the sessions. His

* The charge of this officer is, in some districts, of comparatively an easy nature, while in others, particularly in Bengal, the utmost vigilance and promptitude are necessary for keeping the peace and the security of property.

judgment extends to death, which however must be confirmed by the Sudder Dewauny, which court issues the order for execution to follow. Fining, to a higher amount than the Zillah Court, transportation, and hard labour, are within his power to award. By the recent change, the Commissioner performs the functions of the former Boards of Revenue, thus agreeably varying the solemn duties of a criminal judge, with the equally laborious and perplexing avocations connected with the revenue.

A law has passed to permit the Natives to sit upon juries—another instance of the facility of legislating for a people of whom the makers of the law know—nothing. The moral character of the Native who can bring himself to perform the function of juryman, has been, most safely, left quite out of sight. Let any one who has a tolerable acquaintance with the Natives be asked, whether or not fifty rupees would buy the verdict of a Native juryman, and the answer will be,—It would purchase an unanimous acquittal of any crime. The Hindoos are not ready for so great a blessing as the trial by jury in all its applications. Their honesty cannot stand temptation, while our utter ignorance of their private feelings, and the relations

in which their character stands with each other, prevent our understanding them as we ought. Under the Native Governments, justice was and is freely bought and sold. We have no power over the Natives to hold them in a sufficiently moral control, and an offence which would in our eyes involve the extreme of dishonour, would to them be of venial import. These remarks are, it is to be understood, with reference to those Natives who are more about the European community.

CHAPTER XII.

The Ecclesiastical Establishment.—Bishops Middleton, Heber, James, and Turner.—Military Chaplains.—Conversion of the Hindoos.—The Missionaries.—Ram Mohun Roy.—Indiscretion of the Missionaries.—Festival of Juggernauth.—Conversion of the Hindoos.

THE Ecclesiastical Establishment in Bengal consists of one Bishop for the whole of India, the Cape, Ceylon, Mauritius, and Eastern settlements. These comprehend a diocese tolerably sufficient to occupy the time of one man, even if he confined his attention to merely looking into the harbour of one place, and steaming on to another. How can it be expected, that the great good desired and intended by this high and responsible appointment, is to be found in the energies, talents, and physical ability of one man? India alone would, from its extent, afford ample verge and space for three Bishops; for it cannot be considered con-

sistent, that such a high Church Dignitary should be scampering about the country with the perturbed hurry of a traveller of a house of business.

There are three Archdeacons, one at each Presidency. The one at Calcutta is the senior, and officiates as the chief of the clergy in the event of a vacancy in the Bishopric, which, indeed, the Indian community and the Christian world at large have had the sorrowful misfortune to witness no less than on four occasions since the see was created.

The able and erudite Middleton first wrought in this vineyard, planted in the name of Christ; and much is the cause indebted to his judgment and energy, in clearing the ground for the tillage of those who came after him. To him succeeded the primitive and apostolic Heber, in whom piety and charity found a kindred spirit, and whose practice was twin-sister of his precepts. To his lamented vacancy succeeded Bishop James, of classic celebrity. His career, unhappily, was short, but it gave an ample earnest of what he could and would have done for the great cause of Christianity, with the soundness of his judgment, the purity of his principles, and the benevolence which charac-

terized him during his brief sojourn among his flock.

The last among these good and great men was Bishop Turner, of whom it may be said, he was qualified for the high trust reposed in him, and earnest and diligent in the performance of it. Blessed with temper and resignation, he knew how to turn all things, even sickness, to profit, in his holy calling. With him, it is devoutly to be hoped, will be closed, for a long period, the list of vacancies in the see of Calcutta.

There are twenty-eight chaplains on the Bengal establishment, a number not sufficient to the wants of the community, from its being so much dispersed. The deficiency is somewhat made up by the aid of missionary clergymen, who take up their residence at some large station, or wander about from town to town, and address themselves also to the Natives. The utter impossibility of the due performance of the controlling powers of the Bishop is but too plain; while the good which resulted from the administration of the first Bishop, afforded sufficient proof how much they were needed.

The duties of the clergymen who are styled military chaplains, and who are in certain cir-

cumstances subject to military and not canon law, are confined to their respective divisions, some of which are too extensive for the punctual and more efficient discharge of the ministerial functions, and the ordinances of the Church connected with the ordinary concerns of life. For instance, the province of Cuttack extends from Pooree, the town of the idol Juggernauth, south, to within a short distance of Calcutta, north, upwards of two hundred and fifty miles. The Cawnpore and Merut divisions are too large, though there are two clergymen at each of those stations: and as for the duties of Calcutta, where there is a cathedral, two churches, jails, and hospitals, the number of chaplains, exclusive of the Archdeacon, is only three. Largely as the clerical list has been augmented, the spiritual wants of the community are still urgent; and if to the regular clergy of the Company is assigned any part in the conversion of the Natives, the number is infinitely too limited for any good result to be anticipated.

Apropos of conversion, which has occupied from its commencement, and still continues to occupy, the fixed attention of the Christian world in England, and to command its steady and unrelaxed support in every shape which

promises to contribute to the furtherance of the end in view. If the results were really apportioned to the exertions, great indeed would be the cause of rejoicing. If they even came up to one-thousandth part of what is in England deemed to be the case, cheering would be the prospect to the labourers in the great work, which piety began and charity continues. But those who are able to judge of the advances which Christianity, it is asserted, has made in India, feel themselves unwillingly compelled to doubt, if not to deny, the amount of good effected.

It may seem that a charge of deceit is here insinuated against those who are toiling in the work of conversion: but that is far indeed from the writer's intention. He must in common with all those who have witnessed the efforts of the Missionaries, and have known them as friends and pastors, and have become acquainted with their comings in and goings out, declare, that their moral conduct is blameless, and that their career in the race before them is pursued without a faltering step, and wholly heedless of every thing which has self-interest for its end, save the "soul's calm sunshine."

The Missionaries have laboured long and zealously in the worthy field they have chosen,

and, had they brought to the task more of the wisdom of the serpent, and an application of worldly considerations, they might have produced a greater effect; but their zeal has been overbalanced by their enthusiasm, which has blazed so intensely as to obscure with its dazzling the sober light of the truth which they endeavoured to hold up to the gaze of the Indians. In their hurry to the one great purpose, they have overlooked all minor but imperative considerations; and in shutting out of their view the springs of human action, and the various sources from which emanate the motives which urge it to existence, they have shown themselves completely ignorant of the nature of man, and from whence originate his hopes and fears, and his knowledge of good and evil. They have jumped to their conclusions, taking it for granted that the Indians were formed in the same mould with themselves; that they were *free* to choose the good so *freely* offered, and that, in accepting it, there was nothing difficult in springing as it were into a new world—to exchange the worship of those deities before whom their fathers bowed the knee for countless generations, for a religion divested of all aid from human sources, apparently austere in its precepts, and difficult with

their loose notions of morality to practise,—and in exposing themselves to the contempt, and, if not to the active hostility, at least to the hatred of their countrymen, doubly influenced by religious bigotry, and horror at seeing all ties of caste and kindred violently rent asunder, and the customs of ages thrown aside—for what? For that which, until they can judge of it through the medium of truth, and with the application of a strictly moral code, will be regarded at best as a speculative matter.

The Missionaries have begun at the wrong end, which they have considered, most erroneously, as the means. The mysteries of any religion cannot but be imperfectly understood by those whose code of morality, either of mind or manners, is such as that of the Natives of India; and it would perhaps be the wiser way to make men honest before endeavouring to make them good Christians:—to be sure, the latter implies the former. The above remark may be more applicable to savages than to the Natives of India; but to them also it unfortunately has too positive a reference.

The Missionaries set out with a want of judgment in human nature, in putting forth to the admiration of the Hindoos the most wonderful part of the Christian religion in the

person of our Lord, and in presenting to them those passages relating to his incarnation, with others of mystical import, before they had cleared away the rubbish of ages, which has completely obstructed the power of exercising a right use of their reason. "You tell us," say the Indians, "very wonderful stories, but we have histories of our Gods a hundred times more wonderful." The ground was not cleared of the stones and weeds which encumbered it; and, as our blessed Redeemer's parable has so beautifully expressed it, "the thorns choked the good seed." The mind of man is not a field to lie unoccupied for any length of time, for either good or evil will take possession of it; but when the soil is properly prepared to receive the seed, it then should be sown by the careful husbandman with reference to its nature and fitness.

Were the Natives put out of conceit with the gods whom they have long worshipped, they would naturally look round for wherewithal the soul might commune, and, knowing the error in which they had been enveloped from the beginning, where else in their search could they turn but to Him whose attributes are truth and mercy? With the Hindoos as well as with the Europeans, religion would

occupy the soul's earnest attention, and as the natives of India are willing followers of the tenets of the Braminical creed, and are exact and scrupulous observers of the ordinances of their religion as ministered by the priesthood, it is but fair to suppose that, upon the acceptance of the pure truths of the Gospel, in exchange for the monstrous and false legends of their millions of gods, whom they debase by attributing to them all the vices and depravity of human nature, (for that is the standard by which they are known,) they will be as earnest and sincere in the belief and practice of the true faith, as they were in that which they have quitted.

In the information which the Missionaries send home to the parent societies, there is no intention to delude, but certainly their enthusiasm prevents them seeing all things with unprejudiced eyes. They are labouring in the highest calling to which a Christian can apply himself, but, in snatching a brand from the fire, they rejoice beyond measure;* their own eagerness in the great work, equally with their

* Christ said there was more cause for rejoicing in the repentance of one sinner, than for one hundred just men who needed none; these hundred *just* make the difference, and prevent the parallel being drawn.

simplicity, is turned against them by the artful and designing, and many of those whom they consider as recovered sheep, are nothing less than wolves in disguise. Christianity has nothing but its future rewards to offer as a recompense for a life of denial which it inculcates: this accounts, in some degree, for the converts who are alleged to have been made, being of the lower caste and poorest description, who, having nothing of worldly consideration to lose, but every thing to hope for, find no difficulty in making the change.

There is one exception to this—it is in the person of Ram Mohun Roy: but, as his forsaking the creed of his fathers was the work of his own hands, not through the efforts of the Missionaries, it cannot be credited to their account. This instance is in support of the view which has been taken in the above lines on this head. Ram Mohun Roy is a clever man, well read even in classic lore, and in the field of polemical controversy he has tilted to the disconcerting of more adversaries than one. His mind, when awakened to the absurdity of that which he had all his life been taught to revere, threw away with unhesitating disregard and contempt the errors which had clung around him: and when he had done this, he looked

to other sources from whence he could replace, not that which he had found useless, but that of which it had usurped the place, to the "wronging of his own soul."

Ram Mohun Roy is, it is said, an Unitarian:—true, and is this not better than an idolatrous Hindoo? Out of this charge against him peeps something like the old leaven of uncharitableness, which would rather leave the sinner in his old state than see him gained to a new one, differing from that which considers itself the only true one. But a Hindoo, such as Ram Mohun Roy, of birth, talents, and his extensive information, even though an Unitarian, is certainly half way to Christianity. If he has will equal to his powers, he is the man who is able to do more good than all the Missionaries in the country, who trust to a dispersion of the Bible and their comments or attempted explanations of those parts which the Church itself wisely leaves untouched, to perfect the work they have in hand. The conversion of the Hindoos must be mainly entrusted to the Natives brought up in the college founded by Bishop Middleton, aided and blessed by the assistance of Almighty God, who will bring all things to pass in his own good time. The error of mistaken man is, to think that the

speed may be increased. As long as the Hindoos are not insulted by the freedom with which the Missionaries have talked of their modes of faith, and the liberal abuse which they have heaped upon their many-handed gods, they will permit them to preach as much as they please: admitting no proselytes themselves, they cannot think why others desire to augment their followers with so much eagerness; and being ignorant of the principle and motive, they know not how to value them.

So indiscreet has been the zeal of the Missionaries, that the Government has found itself obliged to prohibit their addressing the Native troops upon matters connected with religion, or their national customs and prejudices; and in some cases, but not lately, they have been compelled to leave a large military station, where they had fixed their abode. Having said thus much on the one side, honesty alone impels me to present an instance (one of many similar in their nature) where the character of the Missionaries shone with a lustre which it never could have derived from an angry disputation upon the merits of Christian and Hindoo faiths, which but too often takes place. The writer happened to be present at a festival of the obscene Juggernauth, the dol of

countless myriads, who drag to his shrine, many hundred miles, their miserable forms, attenuated by sickness and want. Among the crowds which this celebrated fane attracted, the prevailing disease, cholera, rioted with unchecked indulgence. While the god, with his brother and sister, were drawn in triumph by those who had any strength to give, others who had come, as it proved, but to die, were parting with existence in the ditches, and in the very pathways. The Missionaries, not "graceless zealots," were busy in showing forth those virtues which the creed they taught inculcated; and they were seen drawing forth the sick and dying from the holes in which they lay, and carrying them into a sheltered spot, where the remedies prescribed for that destroying pestilence could be conveniently administered. The hand that rescued the sufferers from exposure to the elements, (for it was then during the first burst of the periodical rains,) tendered the cup which it was hoped would prolong their being; and these good Samaritans stayed not in their Christian duty, until death put an end to the sufferers' earthly pilgrimage, or they saw their efforts blessed with a successful issue. Such was truly a picture which the writer saw.

The accounts sent home of the conversions and the state of Christianity are tinged with the hues of that rainbow Hope, which may do much injury unless chastened down by the more sober colours of unimpassioned truth: the heart and affections are listed in the cause; to doubt of success is heresy,—to despair is impious.

In conclusion of this subject, on which the remarks have been lengthened perhaps too far, it shall only farther be observed, 1st. That the conversion of the Hindoos must be a work of time; the laws and religion, the peculiar customs and modes of thinking, the results of climate and long habits, cannot be unsettled in a moment.

2dly. That the labourers in the calling must bring talents of no ordinary character, and tempers proof against the variety of trials which will assail them, and resignation to continue in the "part chosen," although no symptoms of success appear.

3dly. The Natives themselves are destined to assume the most extensive part in the regeneration of themselves, guided by the counsels, and aided and encouraged by the companionship, of the Missionaries.

Lastly, If the efforts of the Missionaries

from England were directed in the same channel, and by the same judicious management as those of the Moravian Missionaries at the Cape and on the coast of Coromandel, we might hope to witness similar gratifying results.

CHAPTER XIII.

Abolition of Suttees.—Progress of Christianity.—British India.—Reform in British India.—Present Governor-General.—Renewal of the Charter.

CONNECTED with the conversion of the Hindoos, may be justly considered the tolerating spirit with which we regard their religious customs and ordinances. We may rest most assured, that when we put on the character of persecutors in disturbing even their prejudices, we shall teach them to become martyrs to a false sense of duty; and in the spirit of this reasoning, the order for the abolition of Suttees may be taken at once as impolitic and not needed. The subject had been for many years before the British public; nor had it failed to meet the most serious attention

from the authorities in India, than whom none were so competent to form a just notion upon the momentous question.

But those who raised such a clamour for the abolition were but little aware of the risk which was run, and still it is feared only slumbers, in forcibly effecting the measure, nor were they acquainted with the exceedingly difficult position of the Court of Directors and the Indian Government; but they thought, good easy men! while sitting by their fire-sides, that nothing more was necessary to put a stop to the continuance of the barbarous custom, than an order from the Court.

In this they judged correctly, but we have to learn if it was judged wisely. The matter is capable of being brought within a narrow compass, and what may be considered two positions. The Company, in all its political transactions with the Government and Natives of India, expressly stipulated to respect inviolate all religious tenets and establishments to their fullest extent; and it may be urged, that, had not the Hindoos been guaranteed the full exercise of their faith, even to the abominations thereof, the British supremacy would have been more arduously acquired; or it might not have

grown to its present magnitude, had our wars partaken of the fiery virulence of religious distinctions, which characterized those of the Mohammedans.

The Hindoos were promised complete toleration in all things concerning their religion. Their temples were taken under the protection of Government. Lands were confirmed, and others set apart, for their support; and even the public treasury was burthened with a requisition for their keep and repairs; the Government, at the same time, applying to its own use the tax paid by the pilgrims resorting to the shrines. The practice of Suttee was recognized and protected, in common with others of equally barbarous spirit, and permitted, as far as enjoined by the Shasters, the code of Hindoo faith, but no farther. Pundits of the most eminent celebrity, the expounders of this code, were applied to, to point out the proper reading of the text, and to furnish favourable commentaries; their opinions and decisions were by the Government translated into all languages, and sent into all the provinces, for the information of the people, and the magistrates were scrupulously enjoined not to permit the performance of a Suttee, under any circumstances the least at variance with the

law. The Shaster ordained that women of the four castes might burn; even the outcast Soodra could purge away sin by an act of concremation: but the law expressly said, that no widow should burn except on a pyre with the body of her late husband in her arms. If his death took place at a distance, she was precluded from performing the sacrifice. None being pregnant could burn, nor one having a child under three years of age, unless some friend came forward and entered into engagements to maintain the infant in a manner befitting the station of its parents. No woman was permitted to ascend the funeral pile if under the influence of intoxicating drugs, or at the instigation or persuasion of any power save her own deliberate and decided choice.

The right to interfere is thus proved to be wholly upon the score of humanity: and it is as clear that this interference has been ventured upon in opposition to the pledged faith of the Government. But it yet remains to be proved if it will have any effect in fixing the good opinions, or in calming the doubts which the Hindoos entertain of the inviolability of that faith which has been thus set aside by proscribing a custom, for the performance of which they have had the authority of their religious code

and the practice of ages, and from which they were taught to believe their eventual happiness was to be expected.

The two positions are these,—Has the Government, consistently with its engagements to the Hindoos, been just or tolerating in thus violently putting down Suttees; and what may be the possible results from the abolition having been carried into effect? Those who contended for the suppression have seen the mandate go forth, and obedience evinced to it; and they dream of no danger, in the heartfelt pleasure of having done what they consider a Christian and peremptory duty.

But there are others who have passed their lives among the Natives, and have partaken of as familiar an intercourse with the people as their official stations admitted, and from this source have been enabled to gather their feelings upon this and other subjects: these competent judges have pointed out the very great probability of the measure creating distrust and jealousy, and leading the Hindoos to consider this as the first step to the subversion of their religion, and in connexion and furtherance of Christian proselytism, which has erected its standard even in the most holy of their religious places.

The Government, willing to meet the demand for the abolition which was incessantly urged by many who never saw a Hindoo, proposed to bribe the Natives with a boon to consent willingly; and this was to free them from the pilgrim tax, exacted at several sacred places of resort. This plan was combated with great good sense, as being wholly unequal to the desired point, and in every way objectionable. The bribe at once acknowledged the point, but did not come up to what would have been conceived the value of the return. The priests would have objected, for theirs would have been the loss; they would naturally object to relinquish their fees upon the piety of the people, and would feel equally averse to the Government giving up a participation in the spoil; for much of the consideration in which these places are held, arises from the knowledge that the Government of the country views them with attention and respect. The pilgrims might wish that the cost of salvation could be lessened, but they are taught to believe that great good is to be obtained by making offerings to the priests, and that such are not only efficacious, but are also strictly enjoined.

But let it not be imagined that the writer of these remarks would uphold the reasonable-

ness of the practice of Suttee, which is alike repugnant to common sense and humanity. No pains or expense, or any endeavour but force, ought to have been spared to put an end to it. All he contends for is, that the nation, not a few enthusiastically zealous persons, should have taken its engagements into consideration, which unhappily for both India and England are not generally known; and that it should have paused in deliberation upon the threshold of a measure, which, to those of long experience, is considered, with regard to all circumstances, as one of great delicacy and serious hazard.

The writer would have exultingly witnessed the annihilation of the murderous custom on one of its own pyres. But let it be shown to the Hindoos that the practice was contrary to the beneficent spirit of God, whose high attributes are mercy and love to his creatures, and that he does not delight in blood and death. At the risk of repetition let it be once more said, for the belief in the opinion is unwavering—first possess the Natives with the knowledge of the falsity of their present notions, and then impart the principles of truth.

And let it be asked, until the creed which sanctions suicide is, to the conviction of its believers, proved to be bloody, fierce, and false,

how can we step in and declare the custom shall be abolished? How can any stranger to that faith stand forth and say,—I will rob you of your hopes of happiness hereafter by preventing the exercise of a rite which you and your forefathers for ages have believed of such sanctity as to enable you to obtain eternal bliss—in such case, what becomes of toleration? But while the custom is by law prohibited in the Company's dominions, it continues in the neighbouring countries not under British rule; and this is a cogent reason for the policy of allowing it to grow gradually into disuse. In these countries, as well as in the Company's territories, the practice was decreasing fast, and even some of the chiefs of the Bundel Khund States had expressed themselves in decided hostility to its longer prevalence; but they did not seek to put it down by violence. In the British provinces it was of less frequent occurrence, and it might have been more so, had it been left to take its own course.

It is the firm persuasion of many, that in the course of a few years the horrible rite of Suttee would have ceased entirely, and in its natural death we never should have apprehended its resuscitation, as we may have cause to fear its spirit being raised from the judicial condemna-

tion to which we have just consigned it. It is the means which have been objectionable.

The dawning of that truth has broke in upon the eastern, which happily has long illuminated the western world; but beware how injudicious haste and interference may retard, not hasten the great object in view. Truth, to all reasoning faculties, needs no assistance; she is stronger in her native purity than she can be made by the aid of glowing colours. The Hindoos are a sensible people and may be led to inquiry, but such a matter as their conversion from the idolatry of ages cannot be the work of an instant. Interference will alarm; entreaty and persuasion will create suspicion; and distrust of motives will ensue. If Truth cannot prevail in the power of her own beauty, how can it be expected that success will follow from adopting that which will not strengthen but weaken her?

Christianity has, to outward appearance, made but slow progress; but it is believed, perhaps because the heart desires it, that its influence, though yet unknown, is more extended than is generally supposed. The learning, the sciences, arts, and manners of Europe, are more prevalent and better known by the Natives, whose employments and intercourse

bring them in contact with Europeans, than any one twenty years since would have deemed possible, or even probable to occur. Moreover, the first step has been made by several Hindoos, in discarding their ancient superstitions; and it only remains for them to form new opinions, which, according to the principles of reason, may be as free from error as man is fitted for or capable of receiving. Fleeing from error upon conviction, would render inquiry and caution not only necessary but certain, before opinion was settled upon other basis. The human mind, when informed by study and meditation, will look above for the causes of visible effects; and to say that mankind can live without religion is absurd:—

"Truth is mighty, and will prevail."

But reverting to the Government of the country: it must be confessed that a want of fixed principles has been productive of great embarrassment, and has prevented even an approach to any thing like prosperity to the inhabitants of India. Much mischievous quackery has been pursued, in the promulgation of a multitude of rules, and in the many alterations of the existing system for the time. Innovation, change, modification, and adaptation,

from one department to another, have passed in rapid succession. Alliances unholy have been made between departments which, from the nature of their business, ought to have been kept apart. The Commissioner of a district, who is a Criminal Judge, has his functions extended to Revenue matters.

In some places "one man plays many parts:" he is judge and jury, expounder and propounder of the law, and of the Government rules and regulations. He is a magistrate of the police, and all the intricacies of fiscal administration are apportioned to his omniscient faculties. The system (if constant change can be so called) has been one of experiment; and bitterly has the country had cause to rue the designs of the operators. The celebrated Lemuel Gulliver might have added a page to the exquisite history of his travels, had he visited India in these days, nor would it have been romance.

Since the above was written, other changes have come o'er the spirit of India's dream, but principally affecting the European portion of the community. A remodelling of the civil service; a classification of salaries, and

of periods of service in different ranks and situations; a reduction of allowance, beginning as this measure always has, with the juniors, who are those less able to bear a diminution of receipts: all these have excited, what the Court of Directors wonder at, universal discontent and disgust. The withering hand of reduction is spread far and wide; but the axe is laid with too partial an operation, to allow the measure to be regarded as equally affecting all concerned. The military have been cruelly dealt with; and though the civil service has been lopped of many goodly branches, its roots are still untouched.

Foremost in the work of reform, is the Governor-General. The present head of the Indian Government presents an instance of the best intentions, founded upon conviction, (no matter from whence it proceeds,) not securing to their possessor the approbation of his employers, or the good-will and respect of those over whom he presides. With an acquaintance with the Natives of course contracted, or at best imperfect, he contemns the admonitions of his colleagues, and those who by their office are near him; but rather looks to the eager and self-interested instigations of individuals, whose advantage is promoted by

their advice — the Natives themselves. This suspicious jealousy of the officers of Government may unfortunately be perceived by those who will seek to draw from it all that it is capable of affording; and in erecting a fancied danger on one side, he who indulges his too credulous fears, may be deceived on the other.

With the present chief, practice treads so closely on the heels of theory, if such there be, that no time is allowed to investigate a matter in all its shapes and bearings; and in a devotion to things of minute and insufficient importance, subjects of greater moment must be divested of the necessary attention. By turns, an acquiescence with the most obnoxious orders of the Court, and a rigid if not an unfeeling enforcement of them, as a most laudatory contrast to a determined opposition to its mandates, or perhaps, as a relief, a self-suggestion wholly at variance with the notions of others, is set up and pursued with a vigour and tenacity of opinion, which but for the dignified designation of *family firmness*, might be construed by the vulgar to be something less sophisticated.

In the furtherance of the half batta orders, the present chief has acquired to himself the dislike of every officer in the army. The manifestation of this feeling he has had ample oppor-

tunity of observing in his frequent tours through Upper India and in the Lower Provinces. The curtailments he has originated or sanctioned in the civil service have entailed upon him a kindred feeling of dislike in that branch; while occasional objections to orders from the Court, and his own plans professedly for the improvement of the country, but so much at variance with the times and feelings of men, have engendered a suspicion in the India Company (only lulled by the unreserved and unhesitating compliance with their commands for retrenchment) as to his eligibility for the high station; and appear to have put him out of the pale of good feeling, both with those for whom he governs, and with those over whom he rules.

To a rigid integrity and no mean capacity in public matters (though ever unfortunate in their administration,—it is not enquired why) he adds industry and application, energy and decision. In private life, honourable, hospitable, and generous, affable and kind—to know is to respect him. But with all these virtues and qualifications, which would appear to fit him especially for his elevated situation —it will doubtless be a source of deep regret (if of no stronger feeling) that he who pos-

sessed such acknowledged abilities to do great good has had the ill fortune to effect so little.

The discussion of a renewal of the Charter is at hand, and it becomes a point of great interest to the nation at large to ascertain upon what footing the rights of the Company are to be placed. Those who have the disposal of the measure would do well to remember that there are three parties whose interests are concerned: —the British nation, the India Company,— and though last, not least—the Natives of Hindoostan themselves.

THE END.

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